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ABSTRACT

Originally presented at a forum on participatory research, these theoretical papers and case studies represent an effort to place the overall work of participatory research within the larger theoretical context of research methods, education, and structural change. In the first paper Orlando Fals Borda explores the relationship between science and the masses. Covered in a paper by Ted Jackson, Greg Conchelos, and Al Vigoda are the dynamics of participation in participatory research. Also included in the collection are the following papers: "The Socio-political Implications of Participatory Research," by Francisco Vio Grossi; "Science as Human Behavior: On the Epistemology of the Participatory Research Approach," by Jan de Vries; and "The Methodology of the Participatory Research Approach," by Deborah Bryceson and others. Five case studies are presented. Their titles are "The Struggle in Dhulia: A Women's Movement in India," by Vijay P. Kanhare; "Land Ownership in Appalachia, USA: A Citizens' Research Project," by John Gaventa; "Rural Training in Traditional Communities of Peru," by Ton de Wit and Vera Gianotten; "The Role of Culture in Development: Jipemoyo Project Tanzania," by Kemal Mustafa; and "A Trade Union and the Case of Automation (Norway)," by Morten Levin. (MN)

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LINKÖPING UNIVERSITY
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The Netherlands Study and
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RESEARCH FOR THE PEOPLE - RESEARCH BY THE PEOPLE

Selected papers from the International Forum on Participatory Research in Ljubljana, Yugoslavia, 1980.

Dubell, F./Erasmie, T./de Vries, J. (editors)

Preface by Budd Hall

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and Jan de Vries

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Preface

It is with great pleasure that I add a few words of introductory remarks to the papers that have been assembled in this book.

The papers included here were all presented at the International Forum on Participatory Research in Ljubljana, Yugoslavia, in April 1980, which was sponsored by Unesco and the International Council for Adult Education.

The meeting in Yugoslavia, organized by the Yugoslavian Federation of Adult Education in cooperation with the International Centre for Public Enterprises in Developing Countries brought together over 50 persons from 23 countries representing the regions of Africa, Asia, North America, Latin America and Europe.

This meeting was the culmination of a stream of activity in participatory research which can be identified concretely as having begun in Tanzania in the early 1970's with the work of a group of researchers who began to experiment with research which consciously involved the community in the entire research process.

The roots of course go back much further than that and elements of the current debate can be found in the early works of Kurt Lewin, the Tavistock group in the U.K., the militant research and action research of Latin America, the thematic investigation of Paolo Freire and in other places as well.

The International Council for Adult Education began working on the ideas in 1974 and in 1975 prepared a special issue of its journal *Convergence*. The reaction by readers to this issue was so widespread and enthusiastic, that the ICAE began working on finding a means of supporting the further development of these ideas beginning with a session on research at the Dar-es-Salaam conference on Adult Education in 1976.

The idea of a network came from a meeting in Canada in early 1977 and in September of that year, the network was officially launched.

The definition of participatory research which emerged from that session has remained the one most commonly used. Participatory Research is a three-pronged activity: a method of social investigation, an educational act and a means of taking action.

The network has been based in centres in Venezuela, Netherlands, Canada, Tanzania and India and has been made up of persons who are engaged in or working on activities which could be called participatory research. The regional networks share certain common activities, namely the sharing of information amongst a number of people, the stimulation of the idea in the various seminars or forums possible, and the on-going engagement in some programmes of participatory research.

A series of local, national and regional workshops preceded the Yugoslavia conference in the following places:

1976 - founding meeting, Aurora, Ontario, Canada
1978 - European regional seminar - Oestgeest, Netherlands
1978 - Latin American and Coordinators meeting - Caracas, Venezuela
1979 - India meeting - New Delhi
- North American meeting - Newmarket, Tennessee
- African regional meeting - Mzumbe, Tanzania
1980 - Latin American conference - Ayacucho, Peru

The theoretical papers presented here represent some of the development of the ideas within the network. They represent an effort to place the overall work of participatory research within the larger theoretical context of both research methods, education and structural change. It is the combination of collective analysis, action and educational work which produces both the power of the concept and its complexity.

These theoretical papers should be read in conjunction with the practical case studies which were prepared and presented at the Yugoslavia meetings. A few of these case studies are included in this volume.

In the theoretical papers, some of the key issues which characterize the continuing discussions and debate in the field can be found. These include both the definition and the role of the researcher. Who is the researcher or who are the researchers in such a context?

A second discussion has developed around the concept of grass roots or base group intellectuals. In Gramsciian terms, the concept of *organic intellectual* has been found to be quite useful as a way of expressing the conceptual legitimacy of working class groups.

The nature of participation itself is discussed and interestingly what emerges is that participation itself is not a particularly empowering fact in and of itself. It may be in fact that keeping people busy with participating on issues which have no chance of eventually influence power shifts is the best way to prevent social change from occuring.

The relationship of participatory research to historical materialism is important to some of these papers. Class analysis and class struggle have been rigorously put forward as important elements in the overall conception of participatory research and as factors in differentiating participatory research from other pragmatist approaches. There was general agreement, however, that the use of historical materialist interpretations must be non-dogmatic and that the participatory research method can add new dimensions to the micro level analysis.

Finally, the papers relate to the importance of the creation of popular knowledge. This is knowledge produced (through collective analysis) by popular groups, 'base' groups or social movements. Participatory research posits that this form of knowledge represents both an authentic and accurate portrayal of society and is the knowledge needed to transform rather than continue the status quo.

What is important to see is that the key questions throughout the debate, by all those who are working on these issues is how can these processes strengthen the hands of the campesino's, of the barrio inhabitants, of the immigrant factory workers in industrialized countries, the unemployed, the unorganized, women, and others, who have not managed to hold their own in the struggle for economic and social survival.

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I would like to thank Thord Erasmie and the Department of Education at Linköping University and Jan de Vries and the S.V.E. (Netherlands Study and Development Centre for Adult Education) for the generous and useful agreement to pull these papers together and make them available to a wider audience.

Special thanks go as well to the financial supporters of the Ljubljana Forum itself including Unesco, Ford Foundation, SIDA (Sweden), Ministry of Overseas Development (Netherlands), British Council, German Marshall Fund, International Development Research Centre (Canada), Social Science and Humanities Research Council (Canada), Anglican Church of Canada, Canadian International Development Authority, the Ministry of Cultural Affairs of the Netherlands via the S.V.E., and the Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation.

Final thanks to Ana Kranjc of the University of Ljubljana and the Yugoslavian Federation of Adult Educators for her superb organizing efforts on our collective behalf.

Budd L. Hall
Secretary-General
The International Council for Adult Education
Toronto, Canada

Brief Summary of the Papers

Theoretical papers

Science and the Common People

Orlando Fals Borda, Bogata, Columbia

Science itself is a cultural product of human intellect. We are working now at attempts to realize a popular science or a common people's science, a science which serves common people, not the existing status quo. The process of supporting the development of a new paradigm focuses on the principle "from the people to the people". This process involves:

(i) Returning information to the base in the language and form in which it originated.

(ii) Control of the work by the base movements.

(iii) Popularization of scientific research techniques.

(iv) Using information as the base of the "organic intellectual" (here used in the sense of the politically motivated intellectuals working with the people at the base).

(v) A conscious effort to maintain an action-reflection rhythm.

(vi) Recognition of science in the lives of everyone.

(vii) Learning to listen.

Fals Borda cautions against dogmatism and rigidity of interpretation and notes that we must recognize the danger and power of this new methodology.

The Dynamics of Participation in Participatory Research

Ted Jackson, Greg Conchelos and Al Vigoda, PRG/ICAE, Toronto, Canada

There are four main areas to be considered in studying these dynamics:

(i) Collective analysis - the production of knowledge in socialized production. How collective can that process be?

(ii) Structural transformation - there needs to be linkages with broader social movements. What are the political implications of this linkage? What is the role of the organic intellectual?

(iii) Costs - major costs are borne by the people who participate and who at the same time can least afford it.

(iv) Focus of studies - studies of the dominant class and its operations leave less room for cooptation, by that class, of collectively produced knowledge.

The Issue of Methodology in Participatory Research

Yusuf Kassam, Institute of Adult Education, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

The question of methodology in participatory research is a subject of ongoing analysis. Consensus as to what the method is has not been reached. The methodology is presented from both a pragmatist and an historical materialist point of view.

The Socio-Political Implications of Participatory Research

Francisco vio Grossi, Caracas, Venezuela

The paper characterizes participatory research, not as a new paradigm but rather as the conjunction of people's views combined with those of a researcher. Key concepts elaborated include: popular knowledge, social transformation and the relationship between the individual and the social organization. The process is said to be expressed correctly in terms of the struggle to realize people's basic needs, their analysis of secondary contradictions, but within the framework of the wider reality.

Science as Human Behaviour: On the Epistemology of the Participatory Research Approach.

Jan de Vries, S.V.E. The Netherlands Study and Development Centre for Adult Education, Amersfoort, The Netherlands.

The paper focuses on the fact that science itself is a form of human, and therefore social behaviour. The aim of participatory research should not be a process undertaken by "scientists" but rather the people themselves with researchers providing facilitation or support.

The Methodology of the Participatory Research Approach

Deborah Bryceson, University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Linzi Manicom and Yusuf Kassam, Institute of Adult Education, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

The paper, originally prepared for the African Regional Workshop on Participatory Research, examines critically the participatory research approach and questions the absence of clearer ideological positions. It further points out that rather than two parties, the researcher and the "oppressed", there is a third ... the funder.

Case studies

The Struggle in Dhulia: A Women's Movement in India
Vijay P Kanhare, Bombay, India.

Set in Dhulia district of Maharashtra State of India, the paper describes a participatory research process involving camps, songs and village discussions which resulted in *adivasis* (term used for tribal peoples) women organizing for their rights as women and as activists in the struggle for land.

Land Ownership in Appalachia, USA: A Citizens' Research Project
John Gaventa, Highlander Research and Education Centre, New Market, Tennessee, USA.

The paper describes a large-scale citizens' research project focusing on land ownership patterns in the Appalachian mountain region in the USA. The project focused on: providing a model for citizens doing their own research; training local citizens and groups to obtain the information they need; developing a network of persons concerned with land-related issues; using the results of the research for education and mobilization for action on landrelated questions.

Rural Training in Traditional Communities of Peru
Ton de Wit and Vera Gianotten, Ayacucho, Peru.

This paper describes the methodology for a program of rural training within an integrated program of rural development in the high Andes region of Peru. It focuses on work in Qacher Potrero and Cuchu Cancha to create a technological and socio-economic development which is controlled and maintained by the community itself.

The Role of Culture in Development: Jipemoyo Project, Tanzania

Kemal Mustafa, Ministry of National Culture and Youth, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

The paper reports on the Jipemoyo project which operated between 1975-79 in Bagamoyo District. The project, initiated by the Ministry of Culture, was set up to study the role of culture in the restructuring process of rural Tanzania. The purpose was to mobilize the creative potentials of villagers for socialist construction within the framework of Tanzanian development policies.

A Trade Union and the Case of Automation

Morten Levin, Institute for Industrial Social Research, Technical University of Norway, Trondheim, Norway.

This paper describes part of a recently finished large-scale project initiated by the Norwegian Chemical Workers' Union. A team of researchers from the Institute for Industrial Social Research in Trondheim and the Norwegian Computing Centre in Oslo collaborated with representatives from the union's central office in a process which explored the conditions necessary for the union to protect and advance its interest when new technology and other forms of automation are present.

1

SCIENCE AND THE COMMON PEOPLE

Orlando Fals-Borda

One of the acutest factors of contemporary social crisis is the breakdown of the scientific apparatus, not only because of its effects, which are frightening, but for its ideological and moral justification. It would be convenient to ponder over this problem because of the serious implications which it has on all aspects of life and for its consequences for the future of societies and nations. It would also be convenient to examine possible constructive ways out to elude dangers and traps which the problematic future places before us.

Among the constructive possibilities on which we still count, there is that one of revaluating what has been identified as "popular science" or "common people's science", since the beginning of the present century. Here we discover a line of study and action which may bring up underlying knowledge and articulate a respectable voice which has been repressed for the sake of instrumental science, whose advances today trouble and hypnotize us: an ancient voice and knowledge which, in their apparent simplicity, may offer some of the soundly lived and experienced answers which we need most.

I

Foundations for the discussion

We shall begin by trying to set up the foundations on which we can construct some coherent discussion concerning such an important matter as popular science.

The concept of science

In the first place, we shall not make of science a fetish, as if it were an entity with life of its own, capable of ruling the universe and of determining the form and context of our society, both present and future. Let us keep in mind that, far from being such a monstrous agent of science-fiction, science itself is only a cultural product of human intellect which responds to concrete collective needs - including those considered artistic, supernatural and extrascientific - and also to specific objectives determined by the predominant social classes within certain historical periods. Science is constructed by applying rules, methods and techniques subject to a certain type of rationality conventionally accepted by a minority community constituted by human persons called the scientists who, for being human, they are precisely subject to motivations, interests, beliefs and superstitions, emotions and interpretations of their specific social development.

Consequently, there cannot exist any absolute value in scientific knowledge bacause it shall vary according to the objective interests of the classes involved in the shaping up and accumulation of knowledge, that is, in its production. For our immediate purposes, our interest lies on the examination of this production process of scientific knowledge - including the technological and cultural - even more so than the final product itself represented by objects, artifacts, laws, principles, formulae, theses, paradigms or demonstrations. These products are the ones which, not necessarily so being, are shown as absolute in textbooks and treaties.

Levels of knowledge production: dominant and emergent

In the second place, if the knowledge production process is what interests us mostly, it would be appropriate to enquire about levels of development and communication in which this knowledge crystalizes, so as to bear practical consequences on the every-day happening. One of such levels, that one of the community of Western specialized scientists which nowadays intends to monopolize the concept of what science is, and to decide on what is and what is not scientfic, bears very distinct consequences on the upkeep of the political and economic *status quo* which turns around about the dominant capitalist and industrialist systems. Under such conditions, obviously, knowledge production at this level is directed towards the upkeep and strengthening of the system.

For the above purpose, the system scientists prefer to handle objects, data and facts congruent with objectives of the capitalist system putting aside, suppressing or eliminating others which, should they become outstanding or ever be invented, would reveal contradictory alternatives, inconsistencies and weaknesses inherent to the system. *A priori* these incongruent data and objects of the system have, as well as others, their own cognitive structure, and may have their own language and expression syntax. Yet, as they respond to other interests, they flow into a different level of development and of communication which we shall now identify as the "emergent or 'subversive' science or culture".

A posteriori, that does not mean that this repressed or emergent level is anti-scientific or that it opposes the process of generalized scientific, technological and artistic knowledge accumulation which has been a constant process since the arrival of humanoids. However, it recognizes an ancient and worthy dimension of the scientific and cultural activity which has moved and continues to move outside institutional and formal governmental and academic channels, and which, in the contrary, has been a positive factor of animation, creativity and innovation even within the established institutions which have been challenged (Nowotny and Rose, 1979).

The concept of popular science

At this level of emergent or subversive science - or of repressed and silent culture - the so called popular science may be included when attempting to dynamize it politically and, therefore, incorporate it into the general scientific stream so that its voice may be heard. We understand popular science - or folklore, or popular knowledge, or popular wisdom - to be the empirical or common-sense knowledge which has been an ancestral cultural and ideological trait belonging to the people in the social bases. This has allowed them to create, work and interpret predominantly with the direct natural resources offered to man.

This popular knowledge is not codified in the predominant manner and for this reason it is despised as if it had not the right to articulate and express itself in its own terms. But this popular wisdom, folklore, or knowledge also has its own rationality and its own structure of causality; that is to say, it may be demonstrated that it bears merit and scientific validity *per se*. This knowledge quite naturally remains outside of the formal scientific structure built by the intellectual minority of the dominant system because it means a breach of its rules, and hence the subversive potential which is seen in popular knowledge. Thus, for example, the knowledge of a peasant healer is unacceptable to a medical doctor. And its unacceptability stems from the fact that it ignores and surpasses the medical doctor's institutional schemes whose abstract prescriptions play like chips in a large exploiting game aiming at an accumulation of capital and at enjoying the lucre from his medical profession.

Science and class interest

It would be preferable not to use adjectives when talking about science or culture if we wish to see them as a unique formative process of valid knowledge which bears consequences on collective behavior and every-day happenings. As suggested before, science is a totalizing and constant process which moves at various levels and which expresses itself through groups of people belonging to different social classes. Science may, therefore, add and subtract data and objects, emphasize certain aspects and darken others, it may assign more importance to certain factors and finally construct and destroy verifiable paradigms of knowledge.

Therefore, strictly speaking, there cannot be a "popular science" or a "bourgeois science" or a "proletarian science". It occurs that at certain historical conjunctures, various constellations of knowledge, data, facts and factors become articulate according to the interests of social classes entering into struggle over social, political or economic power (Kuhn, 1970:

23, 181-187). Thus, there exists a scientific apparatus built to defend the interests of the bourgeoisie, and this is the dominant apparatus today at local and general levels of the so called Western nations. This is the one that sets terms upon, and limits the growth of other scientific constructions, for example, those representing the proletarian interests, or those belonging to popular groups to which the rule of silence has been applied.

The course of historical happenings leads to a change in this class subordination. But such revolution does not necessarily lead to discarding all the knowledge which has made possible the bourgeois domination, as was the case with the feudal one. We cannot indulge in Lysenko's failure. On the contrary, it may be anticipated that technological discoveries by bourgeois scientists shall be beneficial to proletarian classes and shall help them strengthen their power, once they have attained such power through political action. It is not imperative to destroy the foregoing in order to engage in a reconstruction according to new revolutionary scientific schemes (Lenin stated so in one of his essays "Youth Associations' Tasks").

Science and political power

Evidently, this wide interpretation of what science is leads up to the recognition of an important ideological and political dimension. Paradoxically the present triumph of science when imposing itself almost as a fiction-fetish, has led to pulling down the mask of neutrality - the one carried especially by academics - and the wig of objectivity with which they wanted to impress the great audience, having thus left them in the nakedness.

Science could not possibly escape through the artifice of epistemology. It rather remained embroiled in the vicissitudes of regular politics. The concept of truth is no longer a fixed quality but it is conditioned by a power function that formalizes or justifies that which is acceptable. And this acceptance is conditioned to concrete visions of political society and its development. For this reason, being a scientist today means being committed to something affecting the future of mankind. Thus, the substance of science turns out to be both qualitative and cultural; it is not the sole statistical measurement but the understanding of realities.

If the process of knowledge production is tied to a social base, it will be necessary to discover such base in order to be able to understand the existing ties between scientific thought development, the cultural context and the power structure of society. At present there does not exist the mythical urge to lock oneself up in a laboratory full of test tubes and trays for the purpose of developing pure or exact science. The alert and true scientist questions himself as follows: Which is the type of knowledge we want and need? To whom does scientific knowledge go and who is going to benefit from it?

Therefore, this is the appropriate time to examine coldly the facts and push ahead emergent science and subversive culture and to start working for a reordering of scientific performance in order to make it useful and convenient. With this in mind, it is unavoidable to take into account the needs of the great majority who are the victims of the unbalanced progress of science itself.

Today, reluctantly, and because of the threat they involve for the dominant system, great attention is being given to the urges of the working masses who endure the capitalist exploitation. It is necessary then to approach the bases of society not only with the aim of understanding deeply their own version of their practical science and cultural expressions, but in order to seek ways of incorporating them into the more general collective needs, without causing the loss of their own identity and specific flavor. I shall refer to this problem and apparent dilemma in the following pages.

II

Teachings from action research

Approaching popular bases has been one of the main purposes of leftist political groups and their competitors everywhere. Fundamenting consequent actions with revolutionary or conservative purposes has been sought thereby. But not always have performances been wise or prudent in such search. It would be appropriate to take into account some past experiences, because adequate forms of incorporating popular knowledge into the scientfic and cultural streams with radical effects and vice versa, might derive therefrom.

Contributions of popular knowledge

Were we to accept the premise that common people's science or folklore - that is to say practical, vital, empirical knowledge which has allowed them to survive, to interpret, to create, to produce and to work over the centuries with direct natural means - has its own rationality and causality structure, it would be convenient to begin by trying to understand such rationality and such structure within the scope of what they have of themselves or of specific. Gramsci showed a path when he claimed that within working classes there exists a "spontaneous philosophy" comprised in the language (as a complex of knowledge and concepts), in the common sense and in the system of beliefs which, even though incoherent and disperse at a general level, it has a certain value to articulate the everyday practice (Gramsci, 1976: 69-70).

In fact, suffice it to recall how much this knowledge and popular culture has done for civilization beginning from native agricultural products and going up to the empirical practice of health activities and rich artistic contributions. It is not infrequent to find cultured people who steal the popular knowledge or technology and art and transform them making them appear as new discoveries and fashions: such is the case of articles like the woolan *ruana* in cavalry activities; dances like the *cumbia* in ballrooms; primitive art in painting; and the folk-custom narrative. Many important mechanical inventions were designed on the basis of rustic experience as was the case with those of Franklin, McCormack, LeTourneau and the Wright brothers. Kant's Newtonian interpretations in his *Critique of Pure Reason*, bore the sign of such rationality which was nothing else but his epoch's common sense. Galileo molded in his *De motu* a theory of impetus which was the technical expression of common opinion on movement which existed since the 15th century (Mills, 1969: III; Fayerabend, 1974: 63-189).

Playwrights like Shakespeare were from purely popular origin, as were his tragedies. And Chaplin's films or The Beatles' music wouldn't have been made, had they not been rooted in the common people's world. Foucault finds in this popular dimension enough elements for the "living history" which he proposes in his archeology of knowledge (Foucault, 1970: 22-23). On the other hand, Levi-Strauss approaches the same subject, although with prejudice, when he writes about "savage thought"; and many anthropologists admit that there are no "better data collectors than natives themselves" and that the scientists' role should be limited to annotate and edit them (Radin, 1933: 70-71).

Beside, peasants' and workers' interpretation of history and of society "because it springs from the very roots of the working people, from its elder informants' memories, from its own oral tradition and from its trunk-archives", represents a valid interpretation which corrects the distorted version contained in many academic textbooks. This may be "critically recovered" (Fals-Borda, 1978: 235).

In this manner it may be clearly seen how popular knowledge articulates, how it shows its expression at initial investigative attempts, and how it defends itself from external thrusts to its own class and from other disorienting pressures. Hence, the awe with which both observers and activists must approach the common people's culture and "spontaneous philosophy" to which Gramsci refers. But unfortunately it has not always been this way.

Methodology (1) Authenticity and commitment

The primary lack of respect towards this culture and philosophy is the false demonstration of the supposed existence of such respect. This is what happened in Latin America in the late sixties and early seventies when a swarm of fervent activists dropped out of the universities to integrate with the common people. Their intention was an honest one but it turned out wrong. The diploma sought by intellectuals at the time consisted of being able to show tough callous hands and sun-tanned skin as the evidence of having learned the lesson that "common people are never mistaken". This was a most handy fraud found by disoriented revolutionary activists. But the common people did not do wrong this time when repeatedly deprived them of authority for their lack of authenticity, until convincing those intellectuals that they had been the victims of an extreme objectivism which could only be explained as petit bourgeois. (Mandel, 1972: 51-61).

The lesson was partially learned: in fact, in popular struggles there is always room for intellectuals, for technicians and for scientists as such, without their having to disguise as born peasants or workers. They only have to honestly demonstrate their moving commitment to the popular cause pursued, by means of specific contributions of their own discipline. This is the methodological complex recognizing mutual ties between social practice and theory aimed at the accomplishment of radical changes not only in society but in science, and which has been recently called "action research" but which started many decades ago (Cartagena International Symposium, 1978).

Methodology (2) Anti-dogmatism

Even thus, this important political and scientific opening has been wasted frequently by committed intellectuals themselves who have engaged in action research, when trying to apply sternly the ideological principles of political organizations. At least in Colombia the situation became complicated when activist cadres set out the task of searching for, and building in the fields a "proletarian science" capable of neutralizing the "bourgeois" which was being, quite correctly, held responsible for much of the prevailing alienation.

We, who participated in these experiences and ideological search, had set to ourselves acceptable goals: we wanted to "reduce the gap between labor and intellectual work in order that workers, peasants and indians ceased to be spiritually subjected to intellectuals; ...stimulate their most developed cadres, so that they could assume some investigative and analytical tasks; ...and create reference groups constituted by peasants, workers and indians" (Fals-Borda, 1978: 228).

At the time of initiating in Colombia the work of action research in 1972 we consciously made it a point to fight dogmatism and to follow Marx's advice of helping build a social science as "the product of the historical movement, and as a science which becomes revolutionary when it ceases to be doctrinaire" (Marx, 1971: 109). This is why we warned against "the imitation of theories just as they are formulated in other latitudes and in other countries", and against "intellectual leftist colonialism which has castrated so many revolutionary and university student groups because action research methods try to build upon concrete realities in each region and nourish from them" (Fundación Rosca, 1972: 72).

While carrying out field work and while widening political contact with the bases, we adopted historical materialism as an only guide to "devise a proletarian science" adequate enough to oppose the bourgeois science in the light of the success of Marxism as an ideology and as a science in the Cuban, the Chinese, the Soviet and the Vietnamese revolutions. This seemed sufficient demonstration of competence. But when searching for concrete manifestations of proletarian knowledge which should exist among the objective proletarians with whom we were working, we could not find them easily. We did not find either and immediate confirmation of several Marxist theses due to failures in the application of methodology. On the contrary, apart from the self-owned historical interpretation of the peasants to which I referred above, and which we called "critical recovery", "the voice of the bases bore a very traditional intonation which reflected the weight of the alienation to which they had been subjected by the capitalist system ... even the very advanced cadres showed that they did not have a clear conscience of their action in history, and were much less able to articulate a scientific interpretation of their own reality" (Fals-Borda, 1978: 235).

Being by then quite impatient with such a situation, active researchers and our political allies (following the Leninist theory of the revolutionary cadres) began to inject our own definition of proletarian science within the context of reality and in the base groups. It was like searching for a ghost and when not finding it to feel the need to create one. The result was a "science for the common people", not a genuine science of the people. That one imposed itself by means of dogmatic cadres, who did not really apply to actual fact historical materialism, nor were we loyal to the classical Marxist line of thought nor to serious research methodology, but rather took the quick and lazy path of imitation, adopting "mediating specific categories" taken from foreign contexts. Thus, the search for a "proletarian science" remained unfinished and unanswered in the above described Colombian case, awaiting for maturity of both popular and itellecutal cadres. It may prove to be a lengthy process.

Methodology (3) Systematic Restitution

The Gramscian problem of how to convert popular common sense into "good sense" had, alternatively, a more positive development during that same experience. We started from the fact that peasant culture - tradition - is not as conservative as it has been suspected to be, but realistically dynamic, because it includes opposing elements. (...) Thus peasantry changes constantly in order to absorb self-inflicted innovations and modifications imposed from outside. Partly from there stems the alienation which has driven peasantry to passive or change-resistant attitudes and to adopt social values coming from land-owning and urban classes.

There are, therefore, in peasant culture and tradition, positive and negative elements geared towards social change which open good transformation possibilities both in knowledge and in action. This is obvious. No otherwise can we explain so many peasant revolts as have occurred in world history. In the Colombian case it was easy to determine some of the sources and channels of alienation which prevented peasant action, i.e. those ones arising from diffusion of bourgeois values. It was possible, therefore, to balance the weight of these alienating values by means of enriched restitution of the peasants' knowledge, especially of history, which might carry them to new levels of political conscience within the groups. Thus their common sense would be transformed in order to make it more receptive to radical changes in society, and to the required types of action, and also to have the popular bases' voice - previously silent or repressed - heard at a general level.

Such restitution could not be effected in just any manner: it had to be systematic, and orderly, but without intellectual arrogance. In doing this we tried to follow Mao's well-known principle: from the masses to the masses" (Mao Tse-tung, 1968, III: 119). Hence, this disalienating technique which formed new knowledge at a popular level was called "systematic restitution".

(i) *Communication differential*

A first rule of this technique was to return historical material in good order and adjusted according to the level of political and educational development of the base groups having supplied the information or with whom the investigation was carried out, and not according to the political level of the cadres which, as a general rule, was more advanced. For that reason the studies carried out were published at first in what was called the "Level 1" of communication, which were edited in the form of comic stories, well illustrated and simple. In this manner the popular groups were the first to know the results of the investigation which we had undertaken. To these comic story-type booklets we added later audiovisual aids, films, slides, recordings, musical and drama performances by local groups and short films where native people acted, and who followed the techniques which almost simultaneously Jorge Sanjinés was developing in Peru and Bolivia. Later the same texts were published at a higher and more complete level for the cadres (Level 2); and, finally, the same themes dealt with at a more general descriptive and theoretical level, taking into account national and regional contexts for the intellectuals involved (Level 3).

(ii) *Simplicity of communication*

The second rule called for the results of the studies to be expressed in a language which would be accessible to all, discarding the style of the traditional community of scientists who use their own terminology, complicated and esoteric, or their latinist and symbolic classifying schemes. This demanded a new style for the presentation of scientific materials, which has been followed until today, and which led to a certain political and economic liberation of production in social science (Fals-Borda, 1979).

(iii) *Self investigation and control*

The third rule referred to control of the investigation by the base movements and encouragement of self investigation. No intellectual or researcher determined by himself what was to be investigated, but arrived at a decision after consultation with popular bases and their cadres, and taking into account the needs and priorities of peasant struggle. This way, not only the problem of "for whom" of the studies was resolved, but also the one of the scientist's incorporation to the environment where he had to act. For such purpose dialogical techniques were adopted and the asymmetrical scheme of the object and the subject of the investigation was broken (Freire, 1970).

(iv) *Technical popularization*

The fourth rule was to recognize the generality of the simplest scientific research techniques to make them available to the peasant cadres. In this manner, courses on current research methodology were taught to the more advanced cadres, in order to enable them to break away from their dependence on intellectuals and to carry out easily the self investigation.

When we examine the application of these four rules and the accumulated materials, and if we evaluate the advances of peasant struggle since then in Colombia, it may be concluded that knowledge of reality was considerably enriched with systematic restitution. For instance, it was possible to replace bourgeois cultural heroes by others belonging to the struggle. The peasantry managed to balance somewhat the alienation in which it had been living as part of its tradition, and kept alive a movement which inspite of ongoing repression checkmated the Colombian government at a certain moment. It was then possible to see how the common sense of peasants gradually acquired new salient edges by means of political education and assumed a voice of its own. It began to turn into "good sense". Birth was being given to a new tradition at a higher level of knowledge, of practice and of vital élan.

Methodology (4) Feedback to organic intellectuals

Of course not all the pedagogical - political process was reduced to recovering critically history and restituting it sytematically to the peasant bases. A dialectical feedback from the bases towards the committed intellectuals also took place. This was an important part of the total process of the search for, and identification of the science of the common people.

A consequence and a condition of this dialectic feedback was the need to differentiate roles in the field, in such a way that the scientist or the researcher did not have to disguise as peasant or worker, but that he might be recognized and respected by the bases and their political and trade-unionist organizations just as he was. On noticing the unavoidable division of scientific labor imposed by the accumulation of knowledge (since not everyone could carry out every task with equal efficiency), the possibility of developing in practice Gramsci's concept of "organic intellectual" was envisioned. We shall study now this important matter.

We, the intellectuals committed in popular struggle in Colombia, had tried to form ad hoc reference groups integrated by peasants, laborers and indians of wide experience, who were involved in their agitation tasks, with the purpose of supplanting the reference groups integrated by academics and university professors (the dominant élite) (Fals-Borda, 1978: 233). These ad hoc groups were not able to respond totally to the scientific discussion in itself but contributed more to practical and political aspects of the field work. A certain level of scientific discussion about what we were engaged in doing had to be continued among well-prepared people, in a minority more or less selected by their knowledge and experience. At this level articulation between the specifically regional with the general theoretical or national was being made in order to produce a totalizing and integrated vision of the knowledge acquired.

But this discussion among minorities was already enriched by practice in the field, by contact with base people and their concrete problems and by the opinions and concepts of the peasant cadres of the ad hoc reference group. There was a critical intellectual contribution on the part of these cadres which was expressed in demands for clarity and precision in the presentation of theory; observations on the applicability of theory in the immediate context; vivid and faithful description of social processes; explanations of strategy and tactics in peasant struggle; information on individual and collective behavior motivations not visible to persons foreign to the environment; elements of the rural culture such as herbology and myths; language used in agriculture, fishing and hunting; and technical principles for the use of rustic tools and utensils.

All this was valuable first-hand information about a know-how which enriched the subsequent analyses carried out at a more general scientific level by the group of intellectuals. We were thus convinced that folklore of the peasant people, their empirical vital and practical knowledge, found a niche in the course of the development of science as a totalizing and constant process and that their voice, formerly silent, was acquiring new resonance. The agents of this dialectical process were organic intellectuals. It may have been the same feeling which Kant and Galileo had in their time when they went to popular sources, or like the feeling of those who designed so many contemporary mechanical inventions based on rustic experience as mentioned above.

Methodology (5) Action-reflection rhythm

We have explained that one of the main responsibilities of researchers (organic intellectuals) in Colombia was the articulation of concrete knowledge with general knowledge, the region with the nation, the social formation with the mode of production and vice versa, the observation to theory and contrarywise, in order to see in the field specific application of principles, slogans and tasks. In order to ensure the efficiency of this articulation, we had to adopt a specific rhythm in our work, which went from action to reflection, and from reflection to action at a new level of practice.

Knowledge moved on like a continuous spiral in which we would go from the simplest to the most complex tasks, from the known to the unknown, all in permanent contact with the bases. From these the data were received; we acted with them; information was digested at a first level; and reflection took place at a more general level. Then the data were returned in a more consistent and orderly manner; the consequences of this return were studied; and so on indefinitely, but within prudent terms determined by the struggle itself and by its needs.

Methodology (6) Modest science and dialogical techniques

Minimal conditions for the development of this rhythm and of the cultural feedback of the bases towards the scientific organic minority could be reduced to two ideas:

1) That science may go on, even in the most modest and primitive situations and that, in fact, within the found popular conditions, modesty in the handling of the scientific apparatus and in the technical conception (especially the discarding of sophisticated instruments and the use of economical and practical local elements) is almost the only way to carry out the necessary work. This does not mean that, due to its modesty this science is of a second class or that it lacks ambitions.

2) That the researcher must: (a) discard the scholar's arrogance, learn to listen to discourses conceived in different cultural syntax, and assume the humility of those who really wish to learn and to discover; (b) break the asymmetry of those relations generally imposed between interviewer and interviewees in order to exploit unilaterally the latter's knowledge; and (c) to incorporate base people, as active and thinking individuals in their self investigation.

Modest science and dialogical or participatory techniques constitute almost compulsory references for every effort seeking to stimulate popular science or to learn from the people's wisdom and culture and multiply them at a more general level, as we, who follow the action research methods and support the emergent and subversive sciences, have attempted to learn.

III

Teachings from revolutionary conjunctures

In the concept "people" which I have been using, and in order to make it simpler, I have included a number of persons who, in actual fact are more heterogeneous than what is actually implied in it. I have only pointed out as basic ingredients to study what science and popular culture are, the proletarian component and the old folkloric relationship with nature. This relationship evidently corresponds to pre-capitalist systems. It derives from productive activity as an original form of praxis, which regulates material interchange of the human species with its natural environment. The ingredients mentioned are only initial elements for analysis even though they may leave a permanent mark which we cannot ignore in the matter we deal with.

The problem is more complex and this we can see in the developments of this century, when the first socialist revolutions took place and almost simultaneously a vigorous rising of man's instrumental control over natural elements, thanks to the scientific educational advance and to the expansion of capitalist and industrialist modes of production at a world level. This affected development possibilities of the people's science or folklore, as has traditionally been known, and opened gates which may eventually lead to its disappearance.

The Proletkult

Russian Revolution has a lot to teach us in this respect, because in its beginning it made an important attempt to construct, starting from its base, a proletarian culture of a scientific nature called "Proletkult" which was to be congruent with revolutionary purposes (Bettelheim, 1977: 475, 528). These political-literary campaigns headed by committed intellectuals, were initiated shortly after the February 1917 revolution and lasted until 1922 when they were disapproved of by Lenin and Trotsky (Deutscher, 1968: 64).

The main keynote of Proletkult's work was the counter-revolutionary arrogance of its proselytes. Taking ad verbatim Marx's negative and limited impression of the role of peasants in the French revolution, these Russian intellectuals looked upon the rustic ones of their country as potato sacks.

Physician and ideologist Alexander Bogdanov, the founder of the movement, suffered from a superficial Marxism which led him to support theses incongruent with the party's prevailing theory, like for instance that the development of proletarian class conscience rested above all in the practice of production and not in the class struggle. His followers believed that scholars, artists, engineers, etc. of working class origin would produce a special culture different from the bourgeois, and that such origin, according to them was supposed to grant them an essence which could not be discarded. The Proletkult scholars were considered "social engineers" whose task was to treat inferior masses just as if they were like wax which had to be molded from up above and from outside.

Of course, all the foregoing led to increasing the difference between labor and intellectual work, as Lenin pointed out when he spoke critically about the "fiction of the origins" (Bettelheim, 1977: 528-530). Quite rightly the most important Bolshevik leaders had to stop this disoriented movement which, unfortunately, still suffers metastases in other countries.

The rural intelligentsia

The Proletkult passed away. But the specific conjuncture of the Russian Revolution, as from Lenin's death, Trotsky's exile and the advent of Stalinism, especially towards 1928, compelled official policy to be not too different in its effects, from the one suggested by the Proletkult, as regards the Russian peasantry. The Soviet State and the Communist party had determined to create the proletarian culture and science as ideological and political bases to proceed with the required industrialization. Thus, the urban proletariat became privileged and the peasantry was punished with the weight of the new planning.

The Russian peasantry, which had not been unanimous in supporting the revolution (with ups-and-downs caused by the kulaks' and mujiks' influence) became the natural lightning rod of official mistrust. Therefore, Stalin decided to impose the "proletarian civilization" from above - and from the cities -, by using laborers and urban cadres of the party (the so called "rural advanced intelligentsia") with the aid of teachers and agrarian specialists. Not even peasant cadres were recruited for such task. The official mistrust went as far as ordering that tractors and machinery in the new kolkhozes should not be operated by peasants but by workers.

All this campaign from above and from outside led to the tremendous rural genocide known by all of us, and to the cultural destruction of the Russian countryside. Peter the Great's autocratic cruelties were small in comparison. Naturally, upon such a massive destruction of the traditional base of the Russian countryside, a considerable portion of its popular culture or folklore was lost and the scientific tradition of the Soviet's common people was also relegated. However, new human, social, cultural and technological bases were created which have served to reconstruct the rural society in the Soviet Union. This society created another common sense and another more modern and advanced tradition than the one described by Tolstoi.

And now, shall this be the "good sense" which Gramsci expected? Was it worth while paying the high social and human cost of such hecatomb to arrive at the immense present development of the Soviet Union? Was in fact a hegemonic proletarian science constructed? One thing is certain: in this effort many values of peasant culture and science were lost which could have been congruent with revolution and which would have enriched it, had they continued as happened with the Chinese and Vietnamese cases. Some of these values which have outlived, like music, art and handicrafts, help give flavor and identity even to the very Soviet State; others, like religious beliefs maintain some of their strength.

In any case, we see here the pathetic case of a revolutionary people which decided to discard massively peasant tradition with its science and everything with the purpose of constructing a technical and industrialist proletariat possessing a science and a culture of its own, congruent with the purposes of the revolution. But it was not a new science that derived from it. And here the Proletkult intellectuals and their successors were mistaken. It was the accumulation, difussion and perfecting of techniques and knowledge which had originated among Russian and foreign capitalists and bourgeois which had come under the political and economic control of their antagonistic class. There was a certain type of popularization of contemporary scientific, cultural and technical knowledge which, if so desired, may be seen as a "science of the proletariat"; but this science, seen as a concrete reality would not be understandable as such, but within the Soviet context.

The Cultural Revolution

In the People's Republic of China, for similar purposes, a different process may be observed. There was no genocide and a greater participation of peasant and worker bases took place in the conformation of a new culture and science which were harmonious with revolution. The climax of this trend occurred, of course, during the heretical Cultural Revolution of 1966 to 1968 (with visible effects up to 1976) from which we can similarly derive important teachings.

One of the initial incidents of the Cultural Revolution was very meaningful: the act of rebellion with posters in Peking University because its president, an old-fashioned historian made it difficult for students to perform manual labor, and he exercised discrimination against students from worker or peasant origin (Wheelwright and McFarlane, 1972: 127). Here appears to be the gist of the matter: what was sought was the breaking away from traditional elitism which, influenced by the westernized Chinese bourgoisie, had its local roots in Confucius and his ancestral teachings. Traditional élitism led to imitate and adopt foreign customs and to respect and obey higher authority (parents, elders, party leaders, government representatives, officers, emperors) and scientists, intellectuals, teachers and scholars of long and polished fingernails. For all the above, what began in 1966 was not a simple generational revolution. It was an ideological action following the classical Maoist rule: "from the masses to the masses", reorienting old values to "solidify the concept of the proletarian-communist world for the mass of the people" and to create a new public opinion or common sense. This new public opinion would reinforce the objectives of revolution, would combat conservative tendencies of party discipline and would lead to a new national scientific and cultural conception (Blumer, 1972: 72, 186-187).

For this reason the first standard-bearers and activists were youngsters and, in addition, they were recruited among the working classes: peasants, workers, taxi drivers and even beggars who were given a minimum of orientation contained in the famous *Little Red Book*. They were people who were determined to be "a pupil of the masses, more than a teacher"; to "struggle against selfishness" and to "serve the people who are the ones who make history". They would act outside of formal party structures, in which this movement was really unusual.

By this means there was a gigantic rural-urban interchange with 25 million urbanites who visited the fields and thousands of workers who went to school. It was expected to break the verticality of dependency from the State and from the party, to promote a more authentic ideological development which would emerge from the bases themselves, and finally, to "modify the intellectual make up of all the society".

One of the technical-scientific goals laid out by Mao was crystal clear: in fact, the president wanted to train the workers and convert them into technicians (as was being done already in the Institute of Mechanical Engineering in Shanghai) and having the students acquire practical experience and making them return to production after a few years of study. In this manner, the connections between education and productive labor were being recognized, which led to modifying official teaching curricula.

Excesses of political orthodoxy

It is difficult to deny the impulse that this gigantic effort - like the previous popular communes - had at the level of the bases, especially in the development of popular medicine ("barefoot doctors"), literacy, handicrafts (open hearth iron works) and intermediate technology, in agriculture, transportation and other means. Also at an industrial level ingenious and productive technical innovations took place (Wheelwright and McFarlane, 1972: 191, 194-195). A "science of the common people" was truly being fostered, controlled by the latter and its immediate representatives, which was taking a recovered and selective tradition as its point of departure, without destroying it completely. It was a modest and realistic science which only worked within the historical parameters of popular knowledge. Thus it progressed enough for the benefit of the common people until recent years.

But, as we all know, an excess of zeal produced by an irrational desire to impose political orthodoxy at incongruent levels - such as in the management of factories and in high technology - took place. An ardent anti-intellectualism and anti-burocratism started to lead into an anarchic crisis of production to such a point that the government had to backtrack: it diminished the juvenile impulse and fervor of the movement; regulated in a better way political committees which had imposed counter productive organizational structures; called back experienced workers and individuals to continue administering factories, schools and institutes. In addition, it was clearly seen that the goal concerning the fact that the masses should educate themselves had not been strictly achieved, because the masses continued to need external assistance, especially in terms of party orientation.

Politically, Mao succeeded in this way over conservative elements of society and of his own party and assured the fact that the Chinese Revolution followed a path toward socialism. He gave cultural and scientific impulse to values and knowledge at a level of the bases which were useful to consolidate the colossal economic reconstruction of the Chinese nation, a relatively autonomous reconstruction which allowed that nation to occupy a leading position in the world and permitted its people to have a level of living greatly improved.

There was greater respect for the peasant bases than in the Soviet Union. The Chinese broke away from the monolithic structure of the party and from its dogmatic guard. The cadres were recruited in a more balanced manner from the point of view of their origin. There was not so much emphasis on imposing vertical patterns from the upper to the lower. Nevertheless the need became apparent to continue establishing differences between popular science and advanced science, allowing the latter to continue being the special province of the intellectual and technical minority which the Cultural Revolution had attempted to re-educate through manual labor and through practice in the field. For that reason, emphasis is placed today on "science and technology" as one of the four modernizations posed as goals for the year 2 000. Because only thus may China maintain her leadership in the world and defend herself from the powers which continue to assail her.

IV

The Challenge of Instrumental Control

We have studied two dramatic cases of social change - the Soviet Union and China - in which there were profound transformations in the "soul" of the people. Other examples of this subversive type of national development are of much interest: The events following Japan's Meiji Restoration and also the American occupation; the effects of peasant and worker self-management on Yugoslavian society; The Cuban Revolution and "people's power"; the impact of cargo cults on primitive Melanesian communities; the experience of Bhoomi Sena and the People's Science movement in India. It may be possible to find common trends in all these experiences which should help understand the problem of popular science and culture as a contemporary phenomenon.

The Impact of Mass Culture

It is hard to deny that popular science and culture, rooted as it is in precapitalist systems, is threatened with extinction due to the accelerated development of modern technology and man's instrumental control upon nature which accompany today's dominant capitalist system. This is easy to observe in highly industrialized countries, where sociologists can discern a specific distinction between folk culture and popular mass culture (Lewis, 1978: 14-25).

According to Lewis, popular culture in advanced countries has negative aspects related to mass media (television, radio, and newspapers). There the common people become victims of lucre-prone entrepreneurs who demean the cultural level and half-kill the traditional folklore. Under these conditions popular culture acquires a tendency to imitate traits from so-called "high culture" - which may be more particular and creative -, quality suffers, and talent is prostituted. Totalitarian dangers appear as passive audiences sprout that adapt themselves primarily to demagogic manipulation (as anticipated by Ortega y Gasset). And this type of advanced instrumental capitalist development induces the largest index of alienation yet known, the one which Marcuse identified as "unidimensional man". It all culminates in Orwell's animal counter-utopia with a Big Brother everywhere.

If this is the case with industrial countries, it is therefrom easy to understand the process that follows when such alienating techniques and their canned products are exported to underdeveloped countries. There occurs a strong cultural impact that sweeps away or displaces local values and elements of regional folklore which make up what is often called "the essence of the nation". The "spontaneous philosophy", the language, the belief system, and the traditional common sense of the people of the poor countries are all supplanted for xenophelic values with lack of authenticity. And the local possibilities to invent and to produce in the technological and scientific field are also curtailed.

The Region: Core and Marginal Values

Still it is amazing that the precapitalist folk knowledge found in underdeveloped countries has been capable of resisting such an instrumental impact for so many decades, to the point of yet offering possibilities of recuperation and creativity that may be useful for regional and national identification. This leads the observer to believe that the common people in their regions (down to the level of community and neighborhood) possess a cultural apparatus with at least two kinds of values: the most substantial, or core values, which may be compared to the sap of a tree or the stone of a fruit; and the most adjustable, or marginal values, which may be modified without impairing or affecting the functioning of the whole apparatus, even though they are intertwined with the core values.

The intrinsic rationality of the popular cultural apparatus - its specific structure and flavor - derives from the core values. The communication and special levels of expression of regional popular groups depend on such core values. This is what the activist or the committed intellectual senses or feels when he enters into contact with the common people with restitution messages or with the desire for recovering their history.

Then, which are the core values? They may be those rooted in the special vision of the world (Weltanschauung) or philosophy of life characteristic of the least contaminated popular regional groups, especially those who are still articulated by original praxis - like the peasants - and who have defended their ancestral contact with nature and the specific regional milieu. In the last analysis, they are the values that spring from beliefs in the supernatural and extra-scientific. Past wars have been waged on their behalf. Myths have been built or destroyed with them. Ideologies, utopias and social movements have risen or fallen with them. Such values have made man what he is, those which have given history its teleological sense and direction.

Therefore, the rationality of core values would appear to be irrational if we apply to them the Cartesian criteria about Reason that have been inculcated in universities and academies, those on which the contemporary dominant idea of Science has been built. But in fact we deal here with a different rational construction that possesses its own expressive language and syntax. In order to arrive at and to understand values of this rational popular kind it is necessary to overcome dominant cognitive barriers and to adopt attitudes derived from the essence of one's own life experiences (*vivenciales*). These attitudes should be as extrascientific as those which belong to the popular groups. And the activists should attempt to master two or more scientific languages or different levels of communication simultaneously in order to achieve their purpose.

There are few paths left to follow in this direction - in the search for such a popular expression (*vivencia*) and the simultaneous mastery of different languages that it implies - except by stressing the strategic importance of the region and the utilization of action research methods already referred to, that is, the subversive and critical use of a modest science and participatory techniques.

The Role of Specialized Organic Minorities

There is no need to just imagine what the formal educational structure of a country should be in which popular science were hegemonic. We have observed two historical cases in which the proletariat gained full political power. The differences with formal scientific systems of the past were minimal. Simply it was necessary to maintain the control of the state so that the new educational and scientific efforts were congruent with the interests of working classes; and intermediate technologies were stimulated. Even so there was a need to recognize continuity in the construction of knowledge as well as in the role of specialized organic minorities, in order to sustain the rhythm of production and to raise the level of living of the common people.

This evident need for scientific minorities does not imply that the whole institutional structure be so designed as to form and overeducate such minorities exclusively, as is the case today. We have said that the main challenges in this field come from the direct theory-and-practice interchange with the regional masses exploited by capitalism. These challenges derive from the need to have a critical and integrated science that is both modest and realistic. They do not come from a closed dialogue among members of a sophisticated scientific élite that wears professional and philosophical blinders and who may be so "wise" as to be able to determine the sex of the angels. The potentiality of action research resides precisely in its proposed displacement from university precincts to the concrete field of reality. This type of research destroys the classical academic framework as it ignores the differences between object and subject of study. It induces scholars to descend from ivory towers and to be subjected to the judgement of the communities in which they live and work rather than to the interested evaluation of deans and chairman.

Let us remember that the first universities organized during the 14th century in Paris and Uppsala functioned on the basis of small dispersed groups of teachers and students located in private homes, in artisans' shops, in open neighborhoods, away from the convents which pretended to monopolize and define knowledge in their own unscrutable language. It was in neighborhoods and homes where learning came from life experiences, where research and teaching were directed toward solving concrete daily social problems. In those times there were no doctors nor diplomas; but there was felt a practical urgency for knowledge, and this urgency was shared at base level in simple forms, with toleration from at least a part of the social and political system. However, wiser and more experienced persons, with fire and genius, guided these steps with their vision (*vivencia*) and their own version of social commitment.

The University in Diaspora

Is it worthwhile to visualize new types of popular working shops today, dispersed throughout cities and in the countryside, in factories and farms, inspired in their own special problems, with the purpose of forming instrumental technicians of intermediate level who are organic with working classes? Can we conceive of a university in diaspora that may be judged more upon its comprehensive social effects than for its physical facilities? Can we articulate permanently in this manner theoretical knowledge and praxis?

There are many advantages to such an educational plan. For once, those false divisions set up among the sciences would disappear (the well known professional departments, the specializations, and the academies). True interdisciplinary activities would become possible. It is known that the most important contemporary social problems - poverty, hunger, ecological destruction, exploitation, violence - require for explanation and solution complex levels of analysis that spill over the special fields. In such conditions, new fields of scientific and technical action would appear with linkages to urgent communal needs; they would no longer be conditioned to serve the interests of an overly wealthy and greedy bourgeoisie. And there would arise organizations, directives, and actions that would be more democratic, participatory and pluralist, so that the dictatorship of dogmatic parties and the menace from fascist states would be laid down to rest.

In this manner we could then see more clearly how the common people could articulate their own science as a vital tool for the defense of their identity, the shelter of their interests and the preservation of core values. It would be a science raised already to the level of wisdom.

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THE DYNAMICS OF PARTICIPATION IN PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH

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Introduction

A paper of this sort must have necessarily modest aims. The organizing theme, the dynamics of participation in participatory research, is so generative and broad in scope, and the case studies so rich and varied, that the following pages raise more issues than they resolve.

Our purpose is to set out basic material for collaborative critique and refinement. The five sections of the paper - class struggle, collective analysis and collective action, media and cultural production, relations between professionals and non-professionals, and the costs of participation - indicate some of the areas around which the Toronto team continues to struggle through praxis.[1] If there is one overall lesson from our work over the past four years, it is that the dynamics of participatory research are infinitely complex and entirely unsuitable to reductionist analyses. At the same time, there is an important need to set an agenda for future work on the dynamics of participatory research. Presented below is one attempt to identify priorities for the next stages of development of the international participatory research movement.

Class struggle and participation in participatory research

Although the relationship between participation in participatory research and class struggle has been addressed to some degree in the participatory research literature[2], and although a growing number of analysts are developing the position that class struggle is *the central dynamic* in participatory research[3], this relationship remains relatively underdeveloped in the analysis provided by the case studies.

Few of the case studies could be said to be advancing even on implicit historical materialist methodology. Indeed, a number of case study writers are likely to be found hostile to such a methodology. Yet historical materialism raises a major problem in relation to class struggle which the case studies have not addressed. The problem, grossly oversimplified, is this: If the means of social change are ultimately determined by the mode of production of a given social formation (as historical materialism argues), then what overall impact on class struggle does participatory research for class consciousness make when there is no corresponding change in the mode of production?

The nature of class struggle varies so greatly across the different social formations in which the case studies are located that it is perhaps unrealistic to expect consensus on this complex question. However, pushed on the issue, many case study writers might agree with the following position regarding radical change and social reform:

> ... Measures of relief and reform can therefore be a powerful instrument to (a) improve the conditions of living of the working people and thereby enhance their fighting mettle, (b) to reveal to them the inadequacy and the imperfection of the system and (c) to mobilise them to fight and win what the laws and plans of the ruling classes promise on paper but deny in practice.[4]

Yet most case study writers would probably also agree that the foundations of a social system must be changed at the same time as consciousness is changed for fundamental social transformation to occur. It is the interaction of these on the change processes that the case studies are found wanting.

Analysts elsewhere characterize the problem as the interaction of subjective factors (class consciousness) with objective factors (material production) in a society.[5] Others pose it as the problem of contradictions in the superstructure in relation to contradictions in the mode of production, though the concept of "superstructure" itself has recently come under question.[6] Does participatory research, at its best, produce "liberated zones" of class consciousness? Of what political value are these "liberated zones" if they are not linked with liberated zones of production?

Is participatory research, to borrow Gramsci's phrase, a counter hegemonic activity? That is, is the function of participatory research to prepare the working class and the peasantry to think like a ruling class, "to exercise leadership" before winning governmental power?[7] Some analysts go so far to argue that participatory research "produces on a microscale the contradictions of nation states transcending from capitalism to socialism".[8] What are some of the characteristics of the transition to socialism? For example, is no surplus value expropriated in participatory research? These are only some of the difficult questions relating to class struggle which are left largely unaddressed by the case studies but which should be included in an agenda for future work.

Nevertheless, there is considerable treatment of what may be termed "external" and "internal" class forces operating on the participatory research process.[9] In one case, Gaventa points to the divergent interests and abilities of students, on the one hand, and local citizens, on the other, in a citizen's land use research project in Appalachia. Yet both classes (intellectuals and workers) participated against common state and corporate forces during the data collection phase of the project. In another example, that of the Jipemoyo project, efforts addressed conflicting local claims over the means of production between cultivating and pastoralist peasants. At the same time the project sought to promote the class interests of villagers vis a vis regional bureaucrats, although there were different opinions among project staff about how this should be done.

In the Bwakira Chini experience many means were used to advance the interests of the poor peasants in relation to middle peasants. Among poor peasants, women were identified as subordinated and special attention was paid to increasing their participation. Similar, but less sustained, efforts were reported in the Big Trout Lake case study, where women also constitute a subordinate sub-class. In both cases, Bwakira Chini and Big Trout Lake, promotion of subordinate class interests internally occurred while external class forces, represented primarily by the regional state apparatus, operated on the local community at the same time.

DeWit and Gianotten report on a different situation, where the outmigration of male workers to the cities has meant a more stable population of women in two Andean communities of indigenous peoples:

> The women are more and more in charge and responsible for all productive activities in a situation lacking economic resources and 'modern' technologies. This means that women, because they make a more homogenous group in the community, realize easily their situation and needs and see the possibilities of change. So women are more interested in training courses and they learn quicker, whereas men look for alternatives outside the rural area in big towns where they only find individual solutions...

Here the interplay of "inside" and "outside" class forces in the participatory research process has resulted in increased participation by a traditionally subordinate constituency while at the same time decreasing the participation of the men as they become cheap labour power for urban industrial capitalism.

Basic to any discussion of class struggle, of course, is the question of the role of the party. Some commentators contend that without access to political mobilization afforded by party organization, the ability of a participatory research process to undermine class differentiation is severely restricted.[10] While the case studies do not address "the party question" per se, several do take up the problem of linking participatory research to broader social movements.

As Gaventa writes of the Appalachian land use study:

> Research, even of the participatory ilk, does not a movement make. Yet, as the case study shows, a citizens' based research process can be used both to gain information needed for action and to educate community leaders, link communities facing common problems, coalesce lo-

cal organizations, and serve as a spark for change.

On the Philippines farmer-settler experience, Belamide observes that although the perception of the land problem was localized in the beginning,

> ...Through the dynamic process of research-analysis-action-analysis process this perception gradually changed. They now realize that the struggle for land is part of much wider struggle which has national as well as global implication.

The farmer-settlers are now engaged in building the strength of their peasant organizations and assisting others in the region to create their own people's organizations and to join together against common enemies.

Similarly, in the case of women's resistance in Dhulia, Kanhare reports that:

> In the camps, the women came to know about the workers' movements in other areas of India. They also learnt about the women's movement in other areas and other parts of the world. When they went to Morchas, some of them visited huge factories, met factory workers and other activists...
>
> The women started regarding themselves as human beings and began fighting for their rights. They soon realized that women all over the world are struggling for their rights and against oppression, that the problems of women were not restricted to their villages but are faced by all the toiling masses, especially women...

The process of the Dhulia women moving cyclically from action to analysis to action, while at the same time connecting the forces in their personal lives with broader class forces is characteristic of the emergent dynamics in participatory research.

Collective analysis and collective action

One of the major ways in which participatory research promotes class struggle is through the process of collective analysis. In collective analysis, the production of knowledge is socialized. People at the base of society produce knowledge together, as a collectivity. Those who produce the knowledge are the owners, if you will, of the means of producing that knowledge. The distribution of the benefits of this knowledge is also socialized. The surplus value of knowledge produced in collective analysis is neither alienated nor extracted by the oppressor. Rather, the producers share, according to their needs, in the surplus they themselves have created.

There are many ways of carrying out collective analysis. Some of the more important methods highlighted in the case studies are:

- research committees or teams, comprised of local community or workplace members and sometimes outside professionals (Mduma, Gaventa, Levin, Barndt, Jackson);
- training workshops for community researchers (Belamide, DeWit and Gianotten, Gaventa);
- community seminars (Mustafa);
- educational camps (Kanhare);
- small group dialogues and group interviews (Cardy, Dinan, Mduma, Mustafa, Mirie);
- public meetings and community assemblies (DeWit, Gianotten, Jackson);
- visual representation and decoding (Mduma, Barndt, Cardy);
- cultural celebrations (Barndt);
- popular theatre (Mirie, DeWit and Gianotten);
- community radio (Jackson, Cardy).

Typically, one participatory research project would make use of several of these methods over a period of time. These methods may be variously employed in community halls, in homes, in educational institutions (training centres, universities) or at the workplace. Some may be applied to a number of levels of project operation, from local through national. Such methods of collective analysis may also be supplemented by high technology data processing methods, as in the Gaventa, Cardy and Levin case studies.

It is essential to point out that all of the modes of collective analysis mentioned above may themselves become vehicles for class struggle. As noted previously, within a village, there are almost always several major classes vieing for power. What the class representation is on the research committee, in training camps, or in a theatre production, will largely determine the class interests served by research process. Most of the case studies, while recognizing that a core of progressive leadership is necessary and desirable, report that they sought to expand the base of participation in collective analysis to the subordinated classes of the community or workplace. This applies, across the board, for all modes of collective analysis.

If the modes of collective analysis vary widely, so too does the particular technical problem under collective study. In the Norwegian case study, for example, the technical problem being studies by the union is the changing quality of working life resulting from increasing automation in an aluminum melting plant. At Big Trout Lake the community has been evaluating both simple and complex technical options for water supply and sanitation. In Bwakira Chini the focus of collective analysis is grain storage technology. Several of the case studies focus on land ownership and land use patterns (Belamide, Gaventa, Mustafa) while others address questions of employment, migration and income generation (Kanhare, Barndt, DeWit and Gianotten, Cheong). The Cardy paper reports on the collective development of literary materials.

A relatively simple technical problem such as grain storage demands detailed discussion of a host of complex technical factors in village life. In the Bwakira Chini case, for example, a whole range of "environmental problems like pests, animals, thieves, weather, by-laws of the village, customs and beliefs were also discussed. Land distribution, credit facilities and all other production, marketing and storage relations were important factors in the project". However, the Appalachian experience demonstrated the efficiency and power of people's research even in a highly technical data gathering task:

> The first phase of the research involved entering the court-house and copying on to coding forms from tax records lists of owners, taxes paid, size of ownership, etc. Here, the citizens' based research easily proved its merits. Procedures were clear; the importance of the data for local purposes widely understood. Page after page [illegible]erty figures which would have been tedious, meaningless numb[illegible] the outside expert became items of great intrigue for the citizen researcher. To them, the numbers and names represented power and power-holders they knew. The data quickly gave them insights into local community affairs. With such motivation, the citizen often took time to search

> out information that investigators who were simply in it for "the job" would not have pursued or would have reported as missing. Within two months, the basic data had been gathered for most of the 80 counties.

The Levin paper, as well, shows that the best experts to analyze in detail the quality of working life over the twenty-five year life of a computerized, electrometallurgical plant, are those who work on the shop floor of the plant.

Whether the probelm under study is of a complex of simple technical nature, collective analysis appears to involve two fundamental dynamics. The first has been described by Dinan in the following terms:

> You enter immediately into that dialectic, between existing personal and social structures and those structures of a self and group created nature, which is both the result and the meaning of Participatory Research.

Barndt has used the phrase "people connecting with structures" to describe this dynamic integral to collective analysis. She reports on a sequence of problem-posing questions with groups using participatory visuals:

> What do you see, hear, feel?
> How can you relate it to your personal experience?
> What are the common themes or problems among us?
> Why do they exist?
> What can we do about them?

Questions of this kind encouraged movement from personal experience to an analysis of broader political and economic structures in the LACTO case study involving slide/tape shows and videotapes produced for and by Latin American immigrants in Toronto.

In the case of the Dhulia women's movement, Kanhare observes the "process", namely, that women first emboldened, had greater self-confidence in their struggle against the maaldars, the watchmen, on class issues. Only later could they think of struggling within the family against wife-beating. But this could take place because there was an awareness of taking up issues that affected them as women, of going forward to take up women's issues. Short of this, the potentialities of the women to struggle against women's oppression could not have been realized. (p. 137 et seq.) In Bwakira Chini it has been reported elsewhere that research committee members from the village experimented with new storage designs for their own household use and relayed this experience to the committee accordingly as the "experiments" yielded results. Though the circumstances differ, the principle is the same. Movement from the personal to the structural is an essential requirement of collective analysis.

The second fundamental dynamic in collective analysis - and perhaps the overriding dynamic - is its dialectical relationship with collective action.

In most cases, like that reported in the Kanhare paper, collective analysis and collective action are experienced by the participants as "merging one into the other". For the Dhulia women their economic actions for better working conditions brought about the need for more systematic and deeper analysis at an educational camp which, in turn, led to group action against bootleggers and sexual harrassment in one particular village. There followed the establishment of visits to other movements, study circles and eventually a continuous, disciplined system of self-criticism was built into the movement.

In slight contrast, however, is the DeWit and Gianotten case where detailed professional analysis of the community leads to an agenda of specific development options being discussed with villagers, training sessions designed and implemented accordingly, and practical projects undertaken. One such effort, the digging of a canal for increased water supply, gave rise to further meetings and training on planning for the wider use of the new resource. In this case the phases of analysis and action are somewhat more distinct than in the Kanhare case.

The same is true generally for the Jipemoyo project. Modes of collective analysis have included public meetings, community seminars (sometimes included government officials), where the professionals would feed in their own analysis as well. Action took the form of, for instance, improve solo drum and a small-scale drum-making operation. Out of other village seminars, grew other small scale cooperative industries. The implementation of the cooperatives soon called for deeper analysis of their operational problems involving insufficient raw materials and inadequate marketing organization. As a result, further training in management and leadership development techniques were recommended. In another instance of the Jipemoyo project, data from a participatory livestock census showed an increase in pastoralist income. In light of this, the pastoralists decided to deduct 100 Tanzanian Shillings from each head of cattle sold, as a contribution to their community development fund.

In all of the case studies, though the particular mode of collective analysis and specific collective actions may vary, analysis and action operate cyclically and dialectically throughout the life of the participatory research process.

It is the interplay of these two fundamental dynamics - movement from the personal to the structural and the link to action - which sets collective analysis apart from the mere "collection of analyses", and is at the heart of its ability to foster critical consciousness. Thus, collective analysis challenges workers and peasants to confront traditional, oppressive ways of knowing and of doing, and to continue question and identifying contradictions, and to continue acting to change their reality.

Media and cultural production

The choice of media through which to promote collective analysis and collective action is extremely important. Several factors need to be taken into account: the social and cultural impact of the medium and of its content upon the individual participant; the technical possibilities and limitations of the medium; the appropriateness of the medium to its task, and to the context within which it will be used.

Mduma, for example, made use of audio cassette recorders to ensure full documentation of formal discussions, and to ensure important remarks were not "missed". Consent of participants at these meetings was necessary for recording; the tapes were normally replayed for review by participants (good methodological points) and were then reviewed by the researchers, who brought up cogent points at the next meeting. However, the rural context meant that there was a shortage of dry cells and tapes which sometimes interrupted the proceedings. As well, some participants were reluctant to be recorded, and this resulted in meeting time being used for persuasion.

The LACTO case study is especially illustrative of how the dynamics of participation are changed according to the medium in use. At different times, LACTO utilized audio, video photographs, film and slide/tape.

The question of participation in relation to media is placed in bold relief when LACTO's use of video is examined. Video was first chosen as a process tool. The researchers in the beginning used borrowed equipment which was found to be bulky and intimidating. However, it was found that by making light of the technical mystique of this complex equipment, researchers helped to break down the fears of community members. Later, in producing the community documentary, several community members became involved in taping interviews and events, encouraged by the researchers. The new portable equipment was easy to set up and use, and participation on both sides of the camera increased accordingly. The varied response of different sectors of the Latin American community in Toronto to the video reflected class and motivational differences which are rooted in wider forces in the immigrant community at large. Editing created a non-participative mode (as well as technical problems) that suggest that, even in technologically-rich North America, this medium is not yet totally accessible to the community.

It seems apparent that the impact of a medium upon participation depends upon the role chosen for it by the researcher, and accepted or modified by participants. As an adjunct to field notes, as a process tool, or as a product focus, each medium's effect will differ with the relationship between it and the participants.

In order to avoid dependence upon imported media and culture, to return the ownership of cultural history to the community, and to generally broaden the base and depth of local participation, the production and reproduction of indigenous culture is promoted in a number of the cases under study.

In the DeWit and Gianotten paper, the importance of indigenous culture is stressed. Music, drama, dress, popular medicine and technology have survived due to the isolation of the communities in question. These cultural activities are integrated into the training programs, and traditional technology is utilized as the base from which innovation must proceed.

The Jipemoyo project made extensive use of indigenous culture, concentrating especially upon music. One outcome was a small drum making industry. Other cooperative craft industries were initiated, and local music, dance and crafts were explored in relation to current development problems (e. g. water supply). However, cultural production, while enhancing participation, is not enough to establish industry by itself. The cooperatives suffer from a lack of raw material and market accessibility.

The Big Trout Lake case involved both "new" and "old" cultural production. The community has a community-owned and operated FM radio station which, on the one hand, is open to Elders and anyone else who wishes to speak on virtually any issue at any time, and on the other hand, plays disco and rock music from the south. In this sense the radio reflects the current contradictory state of the indigenous culture. A summary of research findings was regularly broadcast over the radio in Nishnawbe, the local language. A "phone-in" segment, however, met with minimal success.

In the same case, a popularized version of the research report was translated into Nishnawbe by local people. But the native printing house which reproduced it changed the syllabic endings from those used by Trout Lake residents to "proper" Nishnawbe. This caused resentment in the community and the popularized report lost some of its impact as a local cultural form and as an educational tool.

Relations between professionals and non-professionals

Most of the case studies seem to explicitly or implicitly acknowledge the fact that the professional researcher does not begin on a basis of "social equality" with oppressed peoples, but rather is a member of the petty bourgeois class. The democratic interaction of the non-professional with the professional - in essence, their temporary "class alliance" on a microscale - is promoted in the participatory research process.

The professional researcher may facilitate democratic interaction in many ways. One important step is to be educated in the life of the community or workplace. In the DeWit and Gianotten, Belamide and Jackson papers it is reported that professionals lived among the people with whom they work, eating what local people eat and doing physical work alongside them (in the case of DeWit). This latter function signifies an attempt to break down the barrier between mental and manual labour. In general, though, there appears to be agreement that professionals cannot and should not cross class lines in attempts at proletarian "romanticism".

However, the most intense attempt is generally in the direction of enfranchising, those who do manual labour most of the day to do mental labour - create knowledge - based on their experience for the purpose of transforming their position relative to their exploiters. The major task of the professional, therefore, is to create and sustain the conditions for collective analysis and collective action.

Specific functions may, for example, centre on assistance in project fundraising and tactical relations with the state (Jackson, Gaventa, Mustafa). Once a project is underway, the need for technical skills may become dominant, in terms of data processing (Levin, Gaventa) or limnology (Jackson) and historical materialist method (Mustafa), to name three areas. The extent to which these technical skills are transferred to non-professionals is an important question and varies across the case studies. In most cases the professionals, at least early on in the research process, serve as problem-posing facilitators and synthesizers of data (e. g. Barndt, Mduma, Levin). However, as the process moves on over time, increasing attempts are usually made to transfer this particular skill area to the base. In a number of cases the professionals are in fact employees of popular groups and in all cases are accountable in significant ways to representatives of the communities or union with whom they work.

The overall picture which emerges is of professionals politically and emotionally involved with workers, peasants and community residents in a dynamic process which must be worked through collectively. As Levin observe:

> One is emotionally involved and that is part of the relevant data. There is no possibility to withdraw to the academic work desk. Problems and conflicts must be solved at face value when they emerge. To withdraw, reflect upon problems and then come back is only possible in the exceptional cases. This does not mean that there exists no plans for research action. The problem is that these plans very seldom are followed.

When professionals strike political alliances with oppressed groups of workers and peasants and new demands are made upon their time and energies, they are, in a very real sense, accountable to the struggle.

While professionals in participatory research may be directed by popular groups, they nevertheless must not permit false consciousness to dominate the process (Kanhare, Belamide). For example, the tendency to work for the interests of local elites must be resisted, analyzed and countered as in the Bwakira Chini case:

> Taking the opportunity of selecting a committee on the project, the council automatically appointed the already progressive farmers who have been referred above as adopters of foreign innovations. With this feature there was danger that the committee could merely turn into a vehicle for alien structure appropriate to themselves and not the masses. The team quickly took note of this danger and carefully steered the committee to the mass approach. It continuously emphasized the need to hear from a cross-section of peasants and design together structures which would meet their needs. The political commitment of the team was extremely important on the issue as the content and direction of the dialogue depended on the political intent of those who identify themes and land group discussions.

Yet also operating on professionals are the pressures of time, energy and capital, all of which put boundaries on the extent to which subordinate class interests may be advocated. Again the Tanzanian grain storage case is illustrative:

> However, time limitations meant that the outside team could not always wait for the top level of group consciousness of understanding about a particular problem before moving to the next issue. Time allocated for identifying and re-examining critically various local storage structures and relate them with the objectives of the project before presenting for discussion was insufficient and therefore had a negative effect.

That a staff of professional researchers may themselves be divided in terms of methodology, and consequently on the question of how to promote class struggle, is amply discussed in the Mustafa paper:

> On the one hand was argued that the basic problem was one of a lack of communication between leaders and villagers. On the other hand it was suggested that the basic contradiction was one of conflicting class interests. Those who argued for the latter hypothesis also advocated a uniform historical materialist methodology for the Project, while those who put forward the former hypothesis were most vociferous in

defending their right to develop their own independent methodology.

Conversely, collective solidarity of the professional researchers can be a major force in a participatory research project. As Gaventa reports, a collective negotiating strategy was used successfully on two occasions to obtain funds from the land ownership project in Appalachia.

There exists the danger that professionals will neglect the fact of their own class position vis a vis the community or union with whom they work. There is the accompanying danger that professionals will draw off, for their own use at conferences (like this one?) and in publications, the surplus value created by people at the base in a participatory research project. Jackson discusses some of the ways of structuring the professional/non-professional relationship to counter professional appropriation of peoples' surplus. One means is for the community or union to establish legal ownership over all knowledge created in a project. There can be measures instituted to prevent, or delay, information being given to professionals, though this may take its toll on the participatory research process as well. Finally, it may be possible to extract sufficient labour from the professional worth more to the community than the "market value" of the information appropriated in the process.

Closely related to the danger of professionals conscious mis-use of popularly-produced knowledge is the cooptation of professionals by outside forces. The forms of cooptation may be subtle indeed. Many times the professional research becomes the chief negotiator for project funding. The time pressures and class-similarity between funders and researcher may lead to subtle shifts in goals and methods during negotiations. Many times the popular groups are not able to question these shifts in the face of the professional's "polish".

These dynamics contribute to the gradual absorption of progressive strategies and tactics into the "corpus" of government and university "methodology" systems. Their widespread *vertical* dissemination eventually neutralizes them. Professionals not hired by the community become unwitting agents of state penetration.

However, costs may also be borne by the professional. In the case of

LACTO, Barndt explains that,

> ...the major sources of support for community groups were government based. Finally, EOLA and PRP co-sponsored a proposal for funds from a provincial lottery earmarked for multi-cultural activities. But there were ensuing tensions on both sides as we learned that members of both groups were unemployed or underemployed. The project coordinators themselves remained virtually unemployed for an entire year before the grant was approved...

Such funding structures foster competition among professionals and non-professionals alike, as well as delaying project implementation, and are part and parcel, in this instance, of the role of the capitalist state. Furthermore, this case cannot be seen apart from the general context of the proletarianization of white collar workers and the petty-bourgeois professional during an historical period of economic recession.

The irony of this situation, of course, is that during economic recession, some professional "paradigms" in fact rise. For example, at least in advanced capitalist countries, cutbacks in government spending increase the demand for project avaluation research and management efficiency research. It is interesting to note that the participatory research paradigm has risen internationally during a period of world recession. Whether this can be explained by the "legitimation" function of the international state complex is thus far an unexplored question. One of the strongest arguments for professional collectives is the great need in recessive times to critically assess forces such as these and to develop progressive political positions with respect to focus and sources of employment, publishing and networking.

The costs of participation

Participation is costly. Participatory research, if successful, is certainly costly to the ruling classes. However, participation is also costly to the participants at the base. The question of costs remains one of the least examined dynamics in the literature on participatory research.

Can political struggle be cost analyzed? Consider the following: Surplus value is "the total value of output produced minus (a) the value of raw materials and machinery used up and (b) the wage bill or the value necessary to 'replace' the commodity 'labour power'.[13] The central question is, therefore, how to calculate the total value of output produced in a participatory research project.

It is true enough that through collective analysis, surplus value in the form of socialized, new knowledge (new skills, increased consciousness) accrues to local people. It is also true that material improvements in the lives of people at the base obtained through collective action, also must be counted into the total output figure. Yet a full accounting of the costs must be made before the overall surplus value figure may be calculated.

Typically the community donates a substancial amount of raw materials and machinery to the participatory research process. Space for meetins, communication facilities (e. g. radio), materials for experimentation e.g. wood for grain storage structures), etc. All of this must thoroughly be accounted.

However, the greatest cost to the community or workers' organization is the great amount of volunteer labour required for meaningful participation. This volunteer labour may be assigned an economic value. This value is at least equal to the income accruing to local people if they had put all of this volunteer labour into productive economic activity such as farming, hunting or smelting metal. As such this constitutes the "wage bill" of participation in participatory research.

The nature of class struggle requires that people at the base bear additional costs. Belamide shows that in some cases, participation results in loss of life. The state may respond to participatory research by increasing political repression. In liberal capitalist nations the state may delay funding and coopt local leadership, adding further to local costs. Loss of land and higher rents perpetrated by private sector elites represent fundamental economic losses for the community. Finally, professionals may appropriate information produced through local participation, thus extracting surplus and adding even more to the loss column.

There remains, of course, the problem of assigning an economic value to the overall increase in political power accumulated by a community or union over a long term participatory research process. What economic value, for example, is added to the overall struggle at the national level by successful, local, participatory research? However, there is also the problem, on the other side, of "foregone political benefits" of a participatory research effort which may have deflected popular energy and focus away from a more fundamental organizing issue and a more militant struggle.

The problem of the costs (of participation in participatory research), as we have put it here, may seem somewhat crude. However, an assessment of costs may help to prevent the myopic, selective reference to the "successful" aspects of a participatory research effort sometimes found in the literature. More importantly, an analysis of such costs by a community or union itself will place in bold relief the forces acting on the research process, possibly generating tactics to enable the participants to maintain control of the process, "cut their losses", and ultimately, achieve "collective profit". Our purpose is only to raise the problem of costs in basic terms; however, we are convinced it is a very important area for future study.

Notes

1) For their criticisms of an earlier draft of this paper we are grateful to Deborah Barndt, Martin Byram, Alan Etherington, Budd Hall, Linda Harasim, dian marino, Erma Stultz and Kathy Tobias.

2) Especially informative is writing published over the past four years by Orlando Fals Borda, Deborah Bryceson, Budd Hall, Linda Harasim, Tom Lovett, Majorie Mbilinyi and Kemal Mustafa.

3) For a particularly coherent argument in this regard, see Bryceson, D. and Mustafa, K. *Participatory Research: Redefining the Relationship between Theory and Practice*. Lead Paper 4. African Regional Workshop on Participatory Research, Mzumbe, Tanzania, 1979, who advance the following overview of the dynamics of participation in participatory research:

> A successful participatory research project produces on a microscale the contradictions of nation states transcending from capitalism to socialism. Democratic interaction must be carefully structured to maintain the delicate balance between the relations of 'outside' and 'inside'. The intervening bodies which can adversely or beneficially affect participatory research projects include political parties and the government, and agencies for financial support. In a wider sense all of these represent the currents of class forces which combine with the local class formation

and determine the success of any participatory research project in the final existance." (p. 24)

4) Renuka, M. *Social Reform and Radical Change*. HOW 3(2), 1980, pp, 3-5.

5) Renuka, M. Ibid.

6) For a recent summary of the debate over the use of the term superstructure, see Cameron, K.N. *The Fallacy of "The Superstructure"*. Monthly Review, 31(8), pp. 27-36.

7) Quoted in Entwistle, H. Antonio Gramsci:*Conservative Schooling for Radical Politics*. London: Routledge & Kegan, Paul, 1979, p. 13.

8) Bryceson and Mustafa, Ibid., p. 24.

9) Bryceson and Mustafa, for example, refer to 'outside' and 'inside' relations. We understand that in classic historical materialist terms, this distinction may be suspect. However, the case studies provide sufficient evidence of the *strategic* importance of the 'internal' and 'external' class forces to communities engaged in participatory research to warrant substantial discussion. It may be that the distinction is more useful for rural as opposed to urban experiences, although there certainly exist internal and external class forces in any trade union (see Levin), workplace or institution.

10) Again, see Bryceson and Mustafa

11) dian marino has developed the point that it is not always necessary, in the process of collective analysis, for participants to create an entirely new framework for knowing. In her terms, a partial, new frame can be layered over "the problem to enable the group to evaluate and change it together".See marino, d. *Drawing From Action for Action*. Working Paper No. 6, Participatory Research Project, Toronto, 1979. For an analysis of the structural forces militating against such a collective reframing process, see her recent *Obstacles to Speaking Out*, prepared for this meeting.

12) Implicit in the descriptions of the professional's specific activities is an awareness of the tactical advantages of being middle-class. These advantages are indicated by the popular groups themselves, and are not necessarily *ex post facto* liberal apologetics for remaining middle class. They include: access to models of research protocol by which to speed up community learning; access to persons and documents by which groups can get a comprehensive picture of government politics; critical data on prospective technical specialists. There are many others. The professional, as a member of the petty bourgeois class, can therefore act as an agent of counter-penetration, connecting popular groups with specific services and intelligence found in the superstructure.

13) Loxley, J. *Surplus Value and Profit*. Canadian Dimension, 14, 4-5, 1980, pp. 18-19.

14) While voluntary-based work may be costly in terms of initiation and maintenance, it can also circumvent other costs over which there is less local control. Professional, salaried labour is, for example, more likely to respond to capital-intensive external structures such

as funders and large institutions, whose class interests do not correspond to those of the community or union. For an expansion of this point, see Conchelos, G. *History, Professionalism, Community Learning and the Control of Skill*. Learning 3 (1), 1979.

3

THE ISSUE OF METHODOLOGY IN PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH

Yusuf Kassam

The question of methodology in participatory research is a subject of ongoing analysis and discussion. No consensus has yet been reached on what constitutes *the* methodology in participatory research. What this paper proposes to do is to highlight the major methodological analyses that participatory research has been subjected to in the past few years and, secondly, to critically examine the validity, constraints and shortcomings of the various methodological positions.[1] In so doing, this paper intends to provide a basis for a further analysis and clarification of the issue of methodology in participatory research.

Before plunging into examining the issue of methodology in participatory research, it is necessary to briefly outline what has been conceived as participatory research, its origins and its intentions.

Background to the emergence of participatory research

Participatory research arose in the context of thoroughgoing questioning of such issues as the relationship between the purposes and consequences or the means and ends of social research, the implications and outcomes of using the conventional research methodologies in the social sciences, the relationship between the researcher and the researched, neutrality and objectivity. These issues were re-problematised in the light of a critical reflection on political, methodological and epistemological questions. Consequently, the basic precepts of the dominant bourgeois methodologies in social science research were challenged both in the developing and industrialised societies.

The dominant bourgeois research methodologies which are predominantly positivist and empiricist have made knowledge creation as the monopoly of the social scientists alone. The ordinary people have been considered as being incapable of producing knowledge and analysing it. Very often research has been carried out for the sake of research, as a mere academic exercise. It has exploited the people, the villager and the worker, without changing their poor and oppressive living conditions particularly in the context of persistent poverty and entrenched "underdevelopment" in many Third World Countries. The people have been reduced to mere objects of research.

The use of the dominant research methodologies in universities and other institutions produce analyses which are descriptive, non-explanatory, technicist, politically sterilised and ahistorical. The use of such bourgeois methodologies determine the conditions of production of knowledge. Social scientists trained in the use of such research methodologies in the universities are becoming more and more of technicians who are able to use a package of techniques but cannot think and develop explanatory theory. The agencies which finance social research (state, private foundations, international agencies and universities) also work within bourgeois methodologies. Social research which has been reduced to a bundle of techniques is increasingly carried out under factory conditions making social science research highly specialised, technicised and fragmented in character. Research institutions and agencies have proliferated, solely geared to the production and sale of research expertise. The qualitative aspects of social science research have been sacrified to facilitate elaborate quantification, statistical analysis and computerisation. It is within this broad context that participatory research took roots.

The basic characteristics of participatory research

The basic aim of participatory research has been conceived as progressive social change for the betterment and liberation of the oppressed people wherever they are. The following broad features have emerged to characterise participatory research.

Firstly, subjective commitment on the part of the researcher to the people under study is essential. This implies a rejection of the possibility of 'value-neutrality' and of the conception of the social researcher as a tool or technician. The researcher must have a sensitivity and democratic identification with the people, the 'oppressed'.

Secondly, there is close involvement of the researcher with the researched community. The researcher is percieved as a committed, participatory social actor, who must seek to combine his critical insight and knowledge with the understanding and resources of the local people to trigger new awareness of contradictions facing them. The concept of 'dialogue' between the researcher and the community is emphasized as a reaction to the manipulativeness of positivist social research, the over-simplification of social reality through the use of conventional research methodologies such as the survey approach and the alienating, dominating and oppressive character of such methodologies.

Thirdly, the approach is problem-centred. Research is perceived not as mere data-gathering, the result of which can be acted upon by others, the policy-makers. Rather the objective of social research is to understand the conditions underlying a problem in order to resolve the problem by transforming those conditions (be they perceived as social, political or social-psychological).

Fourthly, the participatory research is conceived as an educational process for the researchers as well as for the people with whom the research is conducted. The close and active interaction between the researchers and the people through dialogue and discussion, is ultimately aimed at action towards the solution of social contradictions.

Fifthly, participatory research stipulates respect for the people's own capability and potential to produce knowledge and analyse it. Knowledge creation as being the monopoly of the professional researchers alone, as commonly practised by conventional researchers, is challenged by the participatory research approach.

In short, participatory research has been described as a three-pronged activity: an approach to social investigation with the full and active participation of the community in the *entire* research process; a means of taking action for development; and an educational process of mobilization for development, all of which are closely interwoven with each other.

The issue of methodology

Having outlined the broad features of participatory research, one may now look at the question of methodology. What is the methodology of participatory research? An analysis of this question has become a subject of vigorous controversy. Critics have argued that the concept of participatory research as portrayed through the five features outlined above constitutes only as a certain broad approach to research and not an explicit *methodology* or a comprehensive research package. It is argued that the participatory research approach, devoid of a formulated methodology and a theoretical framework, embraces a wide range of research practices as well as different versions of political activism. Consequently, participatory research's basic approach in some instances has been labelled as "pragmatic", "ad-hoc", "eclectic" and "idealist".

To elaborate on these criticisms, it is argued that the reason why the participatory research approach (PRA) accomodates a very broad political spectrum is because the approach is subjective and idealist and which depends upon the individual researcher's political views, sensitivity and knowledge. The participatory research approach, in recognising that the people being studied are oppressed or have unrealised capabilities and potential, implies an idealist position which posits the humanness of the researcher as the basis for his/her identity with the oppressed. In so doing, oppression is morally romanticized. The PRA-researchers are not able to recognise the contradictions between their stated intentions and the real implications.

It is also argued that in participatory research approach, no attempt has been made to theorise or even question the class interests that the researcher objectively serves and the probable false consciousness or ignorance of the oppressed who are probably socialised to accept ruling class ideologies or who are concerned with their own petly property interests. The participatory research approach ignores material causation, that is, the development of forces of production and production relations. In solving problems through progressive social action, the PRA largely operates at a micro-level instead of a macro-level which looks at the wider context of the economy and the objective social forces which influence remedial social action.

The participatory research approach has also been criticised as being pragmatic. Pragmatism posits knowledge as eventual rather than antecedent. Knowledge is produced through practical problems. Knowledge is viewed as a means to an end. The relationship between theory and practice is produced by experimental practice. Knowledge begins and ends with practice. Theory is disregarded.

It has been argued that since PRA is pragmatic and eclectic, its philosophical and theoretical nature is obscured and mystified. As a result, there is no guarantee that PRA will always bring about progressive social change. PRA could also be used for reactionary purposes.

In response to the criticisms on pragmatic participatory research, critics have argued that the apparent eclecticism and pragmatism of the PRA are in fact its very strengths in that the researcher is able to work within a wide variety of constraints (such as the politics of local and external funding agencies, institutional membership, bureacratic authorities and ruling ideologies) and also within a wide range of socio-political settings. The different versions of PRA as they surface through a wide spectrum of political activism are inevitable so long as care is taken to ensure that research was not used by the oppressors against the oppressed. Pragmatism is unavoidable since there are no ideal conditions anywhere. Therefore, to adhere to a single explicit methodology in PRA is to greatly delimit its potential for even a modest social change among the many different groups of the oppressed, disadvantaged and exploited people. It is further argued that the pragmatic nature of the PRA should be conceived as an important *phase* in an on-going *struggle* to liberate the oppressed. What is really *inherently* wrong with being ad-hoc and pragmatic?

The critics of pragmatic participatory research have proposed historical materialism as the most appropriate methodology for participatory research and they argue that this methodology is most logically consistent with the intentions of the PRA, namely, progressive social change for the betterment of the people. Participatory research situated within historical materialist methodology has been defined as research structured by the democratic interaction of the researcher and the oppressed classes of people and takes the form of a dialectical unification of theory and practice reciprocally between the researcher and the oppressed classes. So conceived, it is argued, that participatory research practice is an aspect of historical materialist practice which involves ideological, political and economic action undertaken in furtherance of the class struggle. This methodology is applicable to all social conditions and national contexts. The problems of the oppressed classes can best be understood and the subsequent solution of their problems can be achieved by analysing social formations using the fundamental concepts of mode of productions, forces of production and relations of production.

The critics of the historical materialist participatory research recognize that historical materialism is an elaborate and scientific methodology for the analysis of society at the macro-level. However, they argue that it is overly theoretical and abstract and consequently renders participatory research a mere theoretical and abstract exercise devoid of concrete action towards the solution of the daily living problems of the oppressed classes. In other words it diverts the attention of researchers from immediate problems to macro-abstractions. In this respect pragmatic participatory researchers are more concerned with dealing with situations and problems at the micro-level, such as a community, a village, etc., rather than the society at large. It is further argued that historical materialist methodology is too rigid and dogmatic and therefore runs contrary to one of the basic elements of flexibility in participatory research as it was first conceived.

If historical materialist methodology is an action undertaken in furtherance class struggle, then advocates of the pragmatic participatory research argue that their approach also fulfils the same role using its own approach. However, historical materialists while admitting that pragmatic participatory research bears resemblance to historical materialist participatory research, argue that what renders them distinct is their differing philosophical foundations. Some practitioners of the pragmatic participatory research in fact have incorporated materialist elements into their work but the historical materialists view this trend as an "eclectic" assimilation from the holistic materialist philosophy. On another level, the advocates of pragmatic participatory research argue that the historical materialists have failed to give due credit to the development of qualitative aspects of pragmatic participatory research.

Conclusion

This paper has briefly outlined the current analysis of the issue of methodology in participatory research. It has encapsulated the major arguments of the two main schools of thought on the question of methodology in participatory research. In both the camps there is a consensus on three main scores: the dissatisfaction with the conventional research methodologies in the social sciences; the recognition of participatory research as being a significant departure from the conventional or bourgeois social research methodologies along the political, epistemological and methodological dimensions; and the intention of participatory research of bringing about progressive social change for the betterment of the poor and the oppressed. The major disagreement is centred on the question of an appropriate methodology that can be employed in achieving the goals and purposes of participatory research.

Several questions still remain to be answered. For example, how does one define a *methodology*? Is there a need for a *specific* and *rigid* methodology for participatory research? Does it not suffice to have a well thought out "approach" instead of a "methodology"? In achieving the stated intentions of participatory research, is it necessary to select any one of the existing well-formulated methodologies such as historical materialism or is it valid and acceptable to combine and incorporate various elements of different methodologies? The former alternative will be regarded by some as a super-imposition while the latter will be considered by others as being ad-hoc, pragmatic and eclectic. Given the basic intentions of participatory research that can be carried out in a variety of socio-economic conditions and situations, what is the most appropriate methodology: a tailor-made methodology or a pre-fabricated methodology. These are some of the fundamental questions that have to be addressed in our struggle to systematise the concept and practice of participatory research.

Notes

1) The bulk of the material of this paper is largely based on Discussion Papers presented at the African Regional Workshop on Participatory Research, July 1-7, 1979, Tanzania. The papers are:
   1. Marjorie Mbilinyi, Ulla Vuorela, Yusuf Kassam & Yohana Masisi. *The Politics of Research Methodology in the Social Science.*
   2. Deborah Bryceson, Linzi Manicom & Yusuf Kassam. *The Methodology of the Participatory Research Approach.*
   3. Deborah Bryceson & Kemal Mustafa. *Participatory Research: Redefining the Relationship between Theory and Practice.*

4

THE SOCIO-POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH

Francisco Vio Grossi

I have been requested to introduce some brief and general remarks around the relationship between participatory research and the socio-political context in which it takes place. I believe that, at this stage of the development of the subject, it is redundant to insist on the close links between this approach and politics. The articles presented in the African, Asian and Latin American Workshops have emphasized this point sufficiently. It seems to me more useful to attempt to introduce a discussion intended to illuminate the problem of the relationship between the method (the internal element of participatory research and the socio-political context in which it operates (the external element), both expressions of the same political phenomenon.[1]

This paper will start by locating the concept of participatory research in the light of recent contributions, emphasizing the insufficiencies of certain approaches that have been developed in Latin America and elsewhere. Afterwards, some elements connected with the relationship between participatory research and popular organization will be discussed, and finally, participatory research vis-a-vis the socio-political context will be presented as a way of introducing the question of its viability within particular dependent capitalist societies.

Trends, self-criticism and some clarifications

When the network met for the first time in Toronto in 1977, participatory research was defined as a research process in which the community participates in the analysis of its own reality in order to promote a social transformation for the benefit of the participants, who are the oppressed. It is therefore a research, educational and action-oriented activity.

This statement, like other similar ones published simultaneously, captured the attention and enthusiasm of social scientists, popular educators and political activists. To some extent the attempt was seen as an approach able to resolve the permanent tension between the process of knowledge generation and the use of that knowledge, between the "academic" and the real worlds, between intellectuals and workers, between science and life.

The network that was born, and which has been in continuous expansion, has contributed to enriching the discussion, to enlighting aspects that we did not consider then and to opening new avenues. But at the same time, it has originated some trends that rely on conceptions, though not absolutly erroneous, at least insufficient.

In the Latin American meeting in Ayacucho we thought that, if these trends continue to develop, we could be led to weaknesses in our analysis similar to those experienced in the region during the sixties. These trends can be defined, to the best of our knowledge, as manipulative, only formally participative and spontaneous-naive. Through their description an attempt will be made to introduce a more accurate approach to participatory research, its role within the development process and its external constraints.

The trend that I shall call *formal participation* arises linked to the rejection of participatory research of the principles of objectivity and value-neutrality, as these have been introduced by empiricism. Participatory research adopts a relativist approach, and therefore emphasizes the relevance of values and ideologies in the process of producing knowledge. In other words, if the degree of participation of the "researched" is increased, the research itself is enriched, because the people's perceptions are integrated into the analysis. The research becomes more scientific than before.

Those who have emphasized only this contribution of participatory research have tended to look at people's participation exclusively as a way to enlighten their final product, rather than as a tool for developing a process of social transformation. As such, these researchers are more related to participant observation than to participatory research. With new words, but old techniques, the separation between the subject and the object of research persists and the dominance features of such practices continue. An instrument such as participatory research, devised for liberation, is thus converted into a new, and perhaps more efficient tool for manipulation.

Another manipulative, rather than participatory, approach has been developed under the guise of participatory research. Some activists and social workers have seen participatory research as an instrument that can improve the transference of their own ideas on development and change to the communities. The trick of utilizing surveys as a means for diffusing concepts has been utilized not only by them, but also by different professionals, including cosmetic salesmen. This time, a new and fascinating concept (for them) is added which may help in the attainment of their objective: the word "research". It is so far from the language of the common people as it is near to an ivory tower. It constitutes an invitation to be intellectual and wise. To make the object believe that he is a subject, is a new and more sophisticated manner of manipulation and what is intended is, again, imposition and domination through sophisticated ideas and concepts not well understood by its objects.

Others, perhaps more honest, have been genuinely enthusiastic about the ideas of social transformation and participation that participatory research puts forward. To some extent, they assume implicitly that the adherence to both concepts must imply a radical or revolutionary position. This, unfortunately, is not necessarily the case.

First of all, to talk nowadays of social transformation does not necessarily mean to be precise enough. Social reality is dynamic, i. e. in a condition of permanent change. That is so to the extent that when change does not occur with the necessary fluidity, the dominant sectors themselves tend to introduce some minor modifications in order that everything go on as usual. Secondly, the idea of participation alone is also insufficient these days. It is as likely to lead to social integration as to radical change. I do not need to spend much time on this issue, because I doubt that anyone in this meeting has not experienced a certain frustrating feeling when observing that community participation may result, in the field, in the development of trends towards the consolidation of the status quo, rather than change. Even more, when the process of creating knowledge is adequately led by the community toward the goal of transformation, the data gathered may turn out to be useful for the dominant elites, making their analysis more accurate and therefore permitting them to extend and deepen their domination.

These trends of formal participation, manipulation and spontaneous-naivete have been developed to a great extent under the banner of participatory research. Our own insufficiencies have been mainly related to the question of the characterization of participatory research, a lack of accuracy in the definition of participation and the limits of our concept of social transformation.

When we defined participatory research, although it was never explicitly stated, some people understood that we were calling for the creation of a new research and action alternative vis-a-vis the classic ones. This was partly true and partly wrong. It was true in so far as we attempted the abolition of the traditional distance between research object and subject, between common and scientific knowledge. We not only put forward a revaluation of the accumulated knowledge of the people, but we stressed also that the process of knowledge generation could be a continuum from the popular knowledge to a scientific one, and therefore the roles of object and subject could be merged. We thus rejected logical positivism. However, some went beyond that and understood that we were implicitly rejecting as well the other available method, historical materialism. We were accused of integrationism and reformism. In the regional seminar of Ayacucho there was a consensus on the need to resolve this confusion.

Participatory research is not, and has never intended to be, a new ideological and scientific holistic system, an alternative to historic materialism. On the contrary, it attempts to start the research from concrete reality, incorporating the people's viewpoint, in order to contribute to a type of social transformation that eliminates poverty, dependence and exploitation. This assertion requires a further analysis of some of its components.

Historical materialism, as has already been stated, is a method for investigating reality intended to reveal the main tendencies or changes in order to orient action. It has never intended to be a complete set of final answers or permanent "instructions"for action, whatever the regional, social or political context may be. It is a way of looking at reality in order to transform it.

This distinction has not been present in the minds of the "manipulators", including some radicals. For them, historical materialism, in simple terms, indicates what is wrong and what to do. Therefore, what would be necessary is to diffuse these recipes. The most efficient diffusion techniques suggest that the people adopt them, participating by themselves in the rediscovery of what has been written for them. Confusing content with method, these activists of ideological and political orthodoxy fall into the most conventional manipulation.

On the other hand, the spontaneous-naives understand that popular wisdom has to be idolized when participatory research affirms that the observation and analysis must start from the representations of the community itself. The people have all the answers because they have the real knowledged, they argue. Nothing further from the truth. If that were the case, we would not need either adult education, or activists, or even participatory research. To agree with this assertion would be equivalent to denying nothing less than the very existence and efficacy of the whole ideological apparatus of domination, set up by the hegemonic sectors. For ages the people have been indoctrinated to make them unable to comprehend the reality beneath the superficial appearances of their situation or to mobilize in order to transform that situation. What participatory research attempts precisely is to initiate a process of disindoctrination in order to allow the people to detach the cultural elements that have been imposed on them, and are functional to the status quo, from their own cultural elements, to discover their own socio-economic position and orient their action for overcoming their condition of oppression. In other words, this process will allow them, in the final analysis, to distinguish the secondary contradictions that exist within society, to locate the main one, and to act in consequence. The "investigative" aspect of participatory research collaborates in the application or the method to a specific reality, and the "participatory" component contributes to making this start precisely from the people's viewpoint or stage of development. These are its most outstanding contributions.

An effort is also required to define more accurately the concept of "social transformation". The magnitude of our insufficiency was already indicated when we stressed that change was needed even for maintaining the status quo.

Fals Borda and Freire have adequately faced this issue when adopting the Hegelian concept of "praxis". It is not any action at all, but one that relates specifically to activity leading to structural social change. Neither does participatory research intend to contribute to the development of any activity at all, as may be done by conventional research. It is linked closely with a particular field of action that is intended to lead to change in the fundamental conditions that engender poverty, dependence and exploitation.

Having rejected the formally participatory, manipulative and spontaneous-naive approaches, participatory research emerges as a fundamental contribution to the effort to fully integrate the people's subjectivity into a scientific analysis adequate to the dimensions of the work to be done: the structural social transformation of our societies.

Participatory research and popular organization

It would be to insist on our naivete to assert the idea, totally unsupported by experience, that it is enough that the people "know" in order to mobilize. This is a misconception that has occured more often than we are prepared to recognize. A labour of mediation capable of operationalizing praxis is required. That mediation cannot be research itself, unless it is participatory. In that case, the basic unity between theory and practice that participatory research advocates implies the existence of a popular organization able to conduct the whole process.

When these issues are touched, intellectuals interested in participatory research frequently ask: How can I relate myself to the community? What must I do? How do I need to behave in order to lead the community to conduct by itself the participatory research process? What is my role as "participatory researcher"?

In the field of the relationship between intellectuals and the popular organization, it is particularly difficult to offer "recipes". Anyone of us who has seriously worked with workers, peasants or marginal communities will agree with the assertion that indicates that people perceive easily the class origin of strangers. They are also particularly keen in evaluating the reliability of the newcomers. The level of communication that is established frequently relies upon the way that the community sees the services that the outsiders can provide and the degree of loyalty to the short and long run common goals of the group. Intellectuals usually misunderstand the relevance of manual work and tend to share it with labourers, although frequently peasants and workers are aware of what the intellectual knows and what he does not. They tend to prefer the contribution of a lawyer as a lawyer rather than as an inefficient labourer. The point of encounter is not located at the level of the specific working activity but in the sphere of the basic loyalties, which implies a recognition of the organization's leadership and the subordinate role of the "researcher".

This, leads us, besides, to ask ourselves about the very origin of this type of questions. Its formulation by itself may be seen as implying that we are continuing to assume the separation of the two roles (subject and object of research) and consequently also continuing to differentiate between the importance of scientific knowledge and people's knowledge. The psychological, emotional and, in the final analysis, class barriers continue raising obstacles to the need to adopt the people's perspective. If the people's viewpoint is adopted, and therefore I immerse myself in its culture, the communication problems will be solved as a consequence of the very dynamic that the decision engenders. This very dynamic will also teach that, in due time, a new right will emerge for the "researcher":

to speak for the community. In the real facts, the distinction between object and subject will be broken and both roles will start merging, not only in the community but also within the "researcher" himself.

But in the meantime, the researcher must play a specific role as such. He is in a position that enables him to raise the most relevant questions, due to his access to the information on the relevance and utility of the method and the management of the techniques.

The issue of the relationship between the intellectuals and the organization, as old as the popular struggles, must be solved therefore more from the side of the former than that of the latter. The tensions that have historically arisen over a definition of the role of the leadership and the relative autonomy of science have usually rested upon spontaneous-naive attitudes. Sometimes also on liberal-ethical principles, unrelated to the popular cultures. When a real immersion of the intellectual into the people's world occurs, these tensions disappear and the "organic intellectual", as Gramcsi called him, emerges, enabled to undertake active and full participation in the common struggle.

Theory and practice, mediated by popular organization, meet each other finally in praxis.

Participatory research and the socio-political context: the question of viability

To analyse the relationship between participatory research and its socio-political context in most cases implies asking about its viability in dependent capitalist societies, especially in Third World countries. In other words, it is necessary to inquire about the limits and opportunities that the system puts on participatory research activities in a given political situation.

When a discussion like this one starts, the first temptation is to assume that the hegemonic sectors will offer total resistence to a kind of action that is intended, in the final analysis, to challenge this domination. Nevertheless, our experience tends to show it is not necessarily that way. In most capitalist societies, even the very repressive ones, there exists some room for manoeuvre.

On the other hand, any analysis of this problem area must be done within the limits imposed by the framework of participatory research itself, i. e. the praxis. Otherwise there arises the risk that, with the intention of doing at least something, concessions go beyond the limit and we end up not contributing to the structural social transformation. At the same time we have all witnessed interesting and hazardous attempts that have been destroyed by the system precisely because they went beyond what was considered permissible by the local, national or transnational dominant élites.

Therefore, the question of the viability of participatory research is to face the issue of the limits to engendering partial transformation towards global change imposed by the parameters that determine the functioing of the system.

The task implies the assumption that, on the one hand, the different factions of the dominant sectors do not necessarily maintain a high level of unity around the definition of common interests, but rather that their interests can be contradictory. This fact permits the emergence of relatively wide room for manoeuvre. On the other hand, this effort requires the determination of the specific restrictions imposed on the oppressed sectors by the hegemonic groups. From the analysis of these factors will appear the chances for relatively successful action for participatory research, to be applied in a given social context.

In the following part of this article some brief, general and preliminary ideas will be presented with the intention of offering elements useful for the elaboration of a pattern that allows us to know the degrees of viability that we enjoy for the praxis in a given moment.[2]

It is assumed that participatory research, as has been said, is a permanent process of observation, analysis and action in which the participants advance constantly toward continually higher degrees of accuracy in their analysis and therefore in their social awareness. Within this ascendent process, the structural transformation may be defined as the *strategic goal* to be reached in the medium or long term. In the present stage of development, the need is for the utilization of the instruments offered by participatory research in order to advance as far as possible toward the strategic goal. The new stage thus reached need to be consolidated not only at the material level, but also at that of social awareness.

Our proposition is a strategy of seven interlinked phases in order to determine the viability of acting toward the strategic goal in each stage of development.[3]

1. *Definition of a provisional strategic goal.* The initial phase is the definition of a provisional strategic goal, starting from the basic needs and expectations of the community. It is provisional because, with some degree of certainty, the goals thus established will be more consistent with the existence of secondary contradictions than with the main one. Its level of provisionality will depend on the degree of development of consciousness and the level of accuracy in the analysis that the community has attained at a given moment. If that level is high, the provisional goal will be nearer the definitive one than if it is low. The important point is that this entrance level allows us to start the process from the present situation of the community, integrating its perspectives as fully as possible.

2. *Analysis of local obstacles.* This second phase is related to the study of the local constraints that impede the achievement of the provisional goal. This phase will allow us to single out a set of local variables that will be useful for a global diagnosis at the micro level.

3. *Analysis of the extra-local obstacles.* This third phase starts with the process of redefining the local reality in the context of the wider one. It will permit the elaboration of a list of extra-local causal factors that impede the satisfaction of the provisional goal.

4. *Elaboration of a causal structure.* The disorganized set of causal factors of various levels that impede the achievement of the provi-

sional goal is structured in this phase, according to their relations of causality. The carrying out of this process will allow the discovery of the existence of the main contradiction and the location and identification of the secondary ones. In this way, the research process as such reaches its climax, i. e. a method is applied to the analysis of an apparently chaotic set of social facts and phenomena and subsequently a logical, coherent and interconnected set of variables is produced for the purpose of the determination of the social change dynamics. This process will thus open the path to the two following phases.

5. *Determination of the strategic goal*, which emerges precisely from the location of the main contradiction.

6. *Determination of the different levels of viability*, which emerge from the analysis of the causal structure, the secondary contradictions, the analysis of the partial interests that rest behind each one of them, that is to say, the class structure, and the socio-political implications of their transformation on the functioning of the system as a whole.

7. *Determination of the tactics, immediate objectives and actions*, which will create new conditions at the material level and the level of consciousness which, in turn, will allow the initiation of a new cycle, this time at a higher level of development.

A final comment. There is an element in this presentation that for more than one diligent reader cannot have been missed. For our group in Venezuela it is still a question without a definite answer. The alternative, partial and viable paths may contribute to consolidating the conditions that are opposed to structural change and, furthermore, to postponing the stage of maturation required for the implementation of those changes. The achievement of the strategic goal can thus be delayed, rather than facilitated!

For us it seems difficult to go beyond the limits that I have here described. For the moment we know that we have two main alternatives before us: either to continue debating about structural reform, as if we were demonstrating that knowledge by itself is able to transform reality, or to act collectively upon reality, making use of its potentiality and overcoming its limitations in order to achieve, sooner rather than later, the final victory. This paper has been based on the assumption that participatory research has opted, precisely, for the second alternative.

Caracas, April 1980

Notes

1) I have also been asked to avoid bibliographic notes, so as to lighten the presentation. However, I need to mention the discussions with the participants of the Latin American Seminar on participatory research in rural areas, held in March 1980 in Ayacucho, Peru, under the sponsorship of the National University of San Cristóbal de Huamanga and the Latin American network of participatory research. Furthermore, I would like to mention the work of Orlando Fals Borda, Alfredo Molano, Ernesto Cohen, Budd Hall, Luis Rigal, Anton de Schutter and Paul Oquist. They have influenced some of the ideas and concepts of this presentation. Richard Melman made valuable comments and polished my disasterous English. Obviously, all the responsibility is mine only.

2) These ideas have been the result of the involvement of the author in a rural development project in the State of Guárico, Venezuela.

3) We must keep in mind that these phases are developed by the popular organization.

5

SCIENCE AS HUMAN BEHAVIOUR:
On the Epistemology of the Participatory Research Approach.

Jan de Vries

1. *Introduction*

At the Cartagena Symposium on Action Research and Scientific Analysis, three years ago, Paul Oquist presented a paper *The epistemology of action research*. In that paper Oquist analyses the epistemological assumptions of the most profound schools of science and - by doing so - located the roots of action research in Pragmatism and Dialectical Materialism. That Cartagena Symposium can be seen as the start of the intellectual reflection on the concept of participatory research. The Investigative Forum in Ljubljana is intended to be a summing-up of this reflection process during three years.

I think Oquist has done a very good job by pointing out clearly a relationship between more action oriented research approaches and certain schools of methodological thinking. I do not intend to repeat that. Not even when some colleagues (e.g. Haisch-Eakins and Werdelin) state that there are differences between action research and participatory research.

I do not want to loose myself (and my readers) in an academic discussion about differences in methods, techniques etc. Although it can be useful in certain contexts, I am aware of the danger of dogmatism, which is not seldom a result of a *Methodenstreit*.

My approach to the question of the epistemological background of a participatory research approach will be to question the epistemological background of scientific activity as such. That implies that I will concern myself mainly with two (out of five) questions of Oquist: *How does man produce knowledge?* and *How does man justify knowledge?* Therefore, I first want to discuss what the position of traditional science is.

My criticism on that position leads me to the nature and function of modern science. And I want to conclude by summing-up some criteria for a participatory research approach from an epistemological point of view. This, I hope, will bring the concept of a participatory research approach a little further then we did three years ago. Then Oquist gave an epistemological base to action oriented sciences by relating it to existing theories of knowledge. Now, we may be able to structure something like and original (also very old indeed) epistemological theory.

There is one apology to make beforehand, especially to the more traditional scientists. This paper seems rather unscientific. Not quoting very much, not arguing too detailed, not discussing several models of logic. I am trying to make my ideals understandable to myself and to colleagues who are - in their daily practice - mainly occupied with development work.

2. *The alienated science*

Science is a kind of human behaviour. But what kind? And what is meant by human behaviour? To start with the latter question, this can here only be answered in abstract terms. When one wants it in more concrete terms, one need to read novels, poems, case-descriptions etc. In abstract terms, according to Paulo Freire, we can say that human behaviour can be described as: reflection and action. People reflect on their world, take action in their world and so on. Human behaviour is purposeful behaviour, in the sense that it "proves" one is human. Being human means being free. And I believe that the basic human drive is to experience freedom. Real action and reflection is exploration. Exploration of the world, of one's own world. Although this statement need much more explication, for instance about the relation between freedom and security. But I have to leave it at this in this article. It must be sufficient to quote an unsuspected scholar in the field of epistemology on this matter.

In the preface to the second edition of *The open society and its enemies*, Karl Popper, talking about "of what is perhaps the greatest of all moral and spiritual revolutions of history" says:

> It is the longing of uncounted and unknown men to free themselves and their minds from the tutelage of authority and prejudice. It is their attempts to build up an open society which rejects the absolute authority of the merely established and the merely traditional while trying to preserve, to develop, and to establish traditions, humaneness, and of rational criticism.

Except the fact that I do not think this "revolution" started only three centuries ago but has been the basic movement since the existence of humanity, I like to accept - for once but not for all - the authority of Popper. Nor for all: Popper wrote this introduction in 1950 and he did maintain it even after 1966 (the version I have). And that illustrates the alienation I meant: he wrote about his new optimism in the liberation movement, "largely as the result of a visit to the United States". He maintained this during the years of the Cold War, McCarthy, Vietnam. It is this kind of alienation the traditional scientists even seem to wish.

Science, I said, is a kind of human behaviour. Traditional scientists do think that their behaviour is the highest form of thinking, of reflection. They - as scientists - do not even act, or it must be in function of the reflection process, in rather special circumstances of their own created reality (namely, constructed or structured by their theories). The traditional scientists form an elite. An elite of few people who have mastered what they consider to be the most profound way of human behaviour. Their rituals are ruled by the methods and techniques they label as the most profound. They have their own languages and their special rewards. This picture has not changed during centuries, not even after the democratic movements since the 1960's. One of the few results of those movements has been the acceptance that more people than before must have the opportunity to become part of that élite. Therefore, the scientists and their representatives (the school-teachers and politicians) tried to improve the quality of the learning-process in schools and universities. And that means: better techniques in order to hasten the tempo in which capable people can reach the highest forms of human behaviour, being scientific behaviour. Not more knowledge, but better procedures of scientific reflection.

Another result of more democracy for science is the discussion about objectivity in social sciences. A would-be result. Social scientists introduced, as a solution to the problem of not being able *for the moment* to prove the objectivity of conclusions of their thinking by an objective design and quantitative techniques, the concept of intersubjectivity: a scientist has to design and execute his work in such a way that it can be controlled and judged by colleagues. But all this did not change the élitist character of science. What is the reason behind this élitist belief? Is science indeed the most profound way of human behaviour and are its results worthwile to guide humanity? Is there a real excuse for the arrogance of the traditional scientists? What, in fact, are they doing, compared to the processes of normal human behaviour? And I don't even ask the question, if the results of traditional sciences are really contributing to more freedom for all people.

Traditional science is to me a form of very limited human behaviour, instead of being the most profound form. It is a form of behaviour that is limited - even restricted - in its reflection, and narrow in its acting. It hardly reflects anything of normal human behaviour. Because it is such a very specialised form of behaviour. In a book I have recently written I put it this way:

> Why do we develop therapies for people who act mainly emotional? Why don't we do the same for people who act mainly intellectual? We crowned the traditional scientists as our ruling élite, not in spite of, but because of their very limited and poor behaviour. And the result is that they dictate to us what is good for the rest of us. They indicate what route humanity has to go. And we have accepted that, even when it does not lead to more freedom but only to more comfort. The traditional science is the élite of the comforted society.

3. The supportive science

Comfort, as the substitute of security, withdraws the attention of people from exploration. Exploration is the experience of being free. I agree with Popper when he says that "it is the longing of ...men to free themselves". But freedom is not a stable something. It is a movement, inherent in human being. The process of reflection and action is the experience of freedom, is the creation of freedom. And science, as a kind of human behaviour, has only the function to be part of this creative process. Science is not a very profound, optimal form of behaviour, it is a very limited, specific form, subordinated by and only useful when related to normal processes of human behaviour. The intentions of science are parallel to and a specification of the human intention: being free, in exploration. Exploration means working with the world around, including oneself, the others and the material world. *Working with* is not only action but also reflection: this makes people more than animals. Reflection only makes statues, action only makes animals. The mutual process between action and reflection makes human beings free human beings. This process has, among others, been described by Paulo Freire. And it can be illustrated by the youth, wherever they live, but before education and economic and social structures have oppressed this process. Oppressed, but not killed. That is the most thrilling experience when working with adults all over the world: there is still the longing to experience freedom. To act and to reflect, and by doing so, to shape the world of which one is a part.

As Deway pointed out earlier - quoted by Oquist - traditional scientists created a divorce between theory (reflection) and practice (action). But contrary to them, I think that many modern scientists, also those based on Pragmatism and Dialectical Materialism, only try to cover this divorce by promoting the idea that science must be practice-oriented. This is done by most action-researchers, as Werdelin has pointed out very clearly. But it is only a cover up of the divorce. What real science need to do is to be part of the exploration process that does not permit a divorce between action and reflection. Science, when it wants to be a human behaviour, has to reflect on *that* exploration process.

The human exploration process is an individual activity. But also group enterprise can be regarded as such. When a group, as a collection of individuals, is a group because of wanting to do something - it does not matter how large the group is - then one can also see the two characteristics of the exploration process: reflection and action. Science is a special form of this process of behaviour. It is special because scientists agreed on certain logical rules about a systematic approach to the world. This means that scientists observe, describe and organize their experiences. The new scientists observe in action, describe action as a tool to reflection, and organize the reflection systematically. But always in a way that it can be fed-back into actions. That systematic - which does not mean only intellectual - approach can be useful as a supportive activity for the human enterprise. It can never be the substitute, because it is so much poorer than normal behaviour. It is supportive, and has therefore to reflect all elements of the exploration process. And to be supportive it has to be part of that process. This does not mean that no distinctions can be made within the scientific enterprise. But those distinctions must be derived from that exploration process, so that the parts in the distinction can be related in the perspective of that process. One distinction related to the process of people exploring their world has to do with content and with ability to work on and with it. Learning, as an exploration process, deals with contents, e.g. the characteristics of climate or the essentials of a certain political system. But, when learning, it also implies procedures, abilities to handle the content. Science can play a supportive role by organizing what is already known about the specific content and make that accessible. It can support by constructing tools, or even situations, to be able to explore.

The main distinction then that can be made winthin the scientific enterprise is the one between what I call *thematic* science and *instrumental* science. Psychology for instance is mainly a thematic science, education is an instrumental science. Biology is a thematic science, while health can be seen as an instrumental science.

The function of science, whether a thematic or an instrumental one, is that it supports individual and - more likely - group exploration processes. And that means that, when a thematic scientist is contributing to that exploration process of a certain group, that scientist has the responsibility to indicate also the instrumental aspects. It is the responsibility of a supportive science not only to produce knowledge, but also to foresee what possible skills are needed.

Of course I am not suggesting that all people in the world should know about and be able to handle nuclear power. But when people are confronted with nuclear power then they have the right to know how to handle it, at least in a political way.

Within the frame of reference of the supportive sciences the workload of the scientist is dictated by the people who are exploring. It must be the people who value and permit scientific enterprises. Of course, this seems unthinkable in the context of a society that accepts an elitist role of science. Then "the people don't exist" to quote Peron in the rock opera *Evita*. There only exist representatives of the people, who are mostly in fact the representatives of the elite. Of course I do not want to be so naive that I believe that all human enterprises can be or even must be controlled by the people. That is again a form of oppression. Individuals, small groups, movements, they have the right to explore, and thus to experience freedom, and that counts also for an individual who wants to explore in a systematic way. But then it is primarily for one's own exploration process, and that is acceptable under two conditions:

- no funds - being money or other resources - from other people may be involved, and
- no limitations to other's freedom may be caused by whatever exploration process.

The second condition is never to be discussed. When the first one is at stake the other people can ask to expect advantages also. I don't either want to suggest that, in situations when science is asked to be involved, scientists (individually or a group of them) don't have an opinion of their own. But that opinion is one to be discussed. In other words, the scientist is always a member of a group, a free member, with his own opinions. And it is clear that he can only do a good job whenever his opinions are shared by many others, i.e. when his opinions are a reflection of the opinions of the other group members. An individually shaped opinion, may be. But still. That implies that the scientist must be part of the exploration movement, whether it is the women's liberation movement or a community development organization in a *barrio*. John Dinan, in his description of the activities of a programme of the Simon Rodriquez University in Caracas, gives a good example of the position of the supportive (mainly instrumental) scientist. Just like Eileen Belamide does. When so, the results of scientific activity can never be end-results. Those end-results are always the results of a group, whether it be more knowledge about nuclear power or new housing. Results reflect and are the product of the creativity of the people involved. To keep the activities of a scientist controllable, the best way is probably to let them deal only with smaller groups. Probably, because, I think, it is not an absolute condition.

Scientists are rather expensive, so it seems sound economical reasoning to say that the larger the group for whom the scientist works the better. This brings us to the problem of generalisation. I think it is possible for a thematic scientist to work on identification of what Freire called the *general themes* of a certain group he is working with, these general themes can be distributed to other people and groups. Not as a prescribed content of a teaching-load, but as something that can arouse consciousness about certain areas till then over-looked. Maybe they need some adaption or translation. Maybe they are not recognized. But there is, always, the possibility. It is the responsibility of the scientists to describe matters in such a way that they can in principle easily be understood.

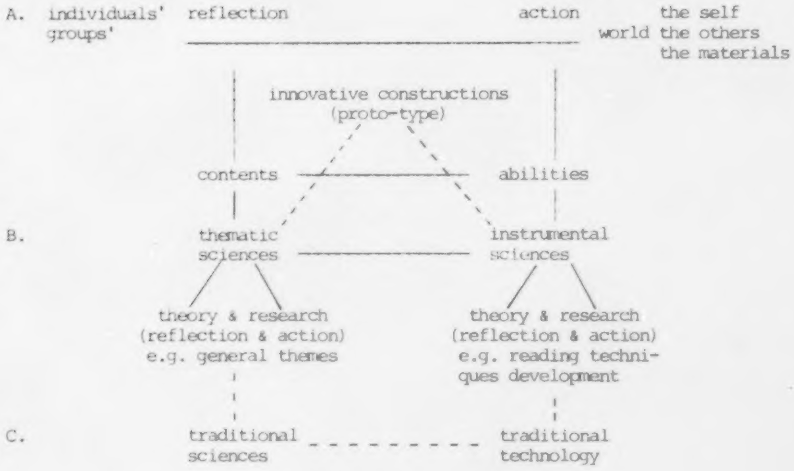
Essential to the concept of science is not only the fact that it is a systematic way of dealing with the world, but also that, to be systematic implies a structuring principle. A theory or meta-theory, as the alienated scientists say.

When scientific activity is part of an exploration process of normal people, then there is also the recognition of the creativity of common sense reflection and action as structuring principle. That enriches the supportive sciences much more than the alienated sciences, even when compared to their norms.

4. A human paradigm

I would like to sum up in a bit more systematized way. Therefore, I will bring together the things said before into a scheme and then discuss elements of that scheme to set out criteria.

The exploration process


A.
individuals'
groups'
reflection
action
world
the self
the others
the materials
innovative constructions
(proto-type)
contents
abilities
B.
thematic
sciences
instrumental
sciences
theory & research
(reflection & action)
e.g. general themes
theory & research
(reflection & action)
e.g. reading techniques development
C.
traditional
sciences
traditional
technology

Explanation

1. The relation between the three main areas of this scheme: The basis is the human exploration-process (A), which shows (very much simplified of course) a mutual intercourse between action and reflection. The exploration means the continuous discovery of the world. Science, as a specific because systematic way of human behaviour, reflects the "normal" exploration process. Certainly when it will be supportive (B) to that process, to humanity. Distinctions can be made, but no divorces. The traditional sciences (C) whether based on a positivistic philosophy or a marxist philosophy, have alienated themselves from human behaviour by specialising, which results in, at the most, piecemeal contribution to the human exploration process. More worth mentioning is, however, that these sciences have claimed such an élite position that they are not controllable any more, and thus implies the danger of being harmful to people, which has been proved, and that makes the traditional sciences basically inhuman. This does not mean, however, that methods

and techniques cannot be of any use anymore. But it means that at least applicable "pieces"must be made part of the load of the supportive sciences.

2. The distribution between the classical paradigm and the new paradigm can also be enlightened by the fact that the latter does not strive for true knowledge as an end-result. The classical sciences became so proud that they believed their approach to be the only way to truth, and thus even formed the model and content on which educational systems are built. As if knowledge as such can replace the world, instead cf only helping people to explore their world.

3. The supportive sciences contribute to the people's exploration process by offering possible tools that can be of help. This has to be judged by the explorative people themselves. This means that supportive scientific behaviour is a construction activity. Not *true statements* but *possible prototype solutions* are the most profound results scientists can strive for.

4. Prototype constructions have to be developed as part of humanistic exploration processes. Even when some *example-situations* are chosen (e.g. some typical innovation projects), they can only be chosen because they are special examples of a *normal*, complete, process. They must not be constructed by eliminating a good deal of the situation. Experiments are alien samples, innovative construction sites are examples of daily life.

5. Objectivity is the lowest form of validity. It only garantees that something fits certain abstract rules. Intersubjectivity is the form of validity where scientists judge (each other's) results. This more human form of validity is often used within the supportive sciences but only as a technical, provisional, temporary judgement. Process validity (De Vries, 1973) is the highest form of validity. Process validity means that scientific contributions are judged by explorative people. This implies for instance that traditional evaluation research is of limited value, because, here, scientists measure according to criteria set by outside agents even before the process started. Very odd illustations of this - to put it kindly - limited evaluation approach can be found

with Western Aid Organizations operating in the Third World. Those organizations are eager to send evaluation "experts" (technicians) to judge the results of development processes. Is there indeed the expected increase of crops? Are the wells used in the meant-to-be proper way? They do not care too much about side effects, not even when those side effects are the results of an exploration process. Not meant-to-be results, but developed during the process - by the people, whose process it is.

6. The role of the supportive scientist is twofold. He is the one who observes and describes in a systematic way, and he is the one who mediates between the systematized descriptions (e.g. constructions) and the main elements of supportive developmental activities, that is, of supportive science. The supportive scientist is *in* the action, he is not *the* action. He is useful because of his observing and descriptive techniques and his systematic attitude. Thus because of his developmental capacities.

7. Theorizing and researching are the scientific labels for reflection and action. Even when concentrating on a certain theme, or certain areas of exploration (e.g. education), the scientist behaves also as an explorative human being. His work-load - theories and methods - has to be connected with the work-loads of the people to whom the scientists are asked to be supportive. This does not only enlarge the reality-value of their instrument, but it also enlages the creativity of the scientific exploration process.

b. Some concluding remarks

In this contribution I did not try to connect concepts about the participatory research approach to any important school of philosophy. I have tried that before, but by doing that I got the feeling of loosing myself in a world of a Phaidrus (Pirsing, 1976) or a Tolkien. So, this time, I tried to start with a very simple assumption, namely that scientific activity is also human behaviour. Nothing special in its essence, only specific. And its right to be specific is not to be delivered from some external authorities - philosophers, politicians, gods or whoever - but from people who want to experience their freedom. I confess that I have been vague by using terms as epistemology, paradigm and so on. My apologies for that, but I could not stand the challenge. What I did stand - with one or two exceptions - was the challenge to illustrate my statements with references to the case-studies presented to the Forum in the book *Participation in research*. But that will be the task of the participants at this forum.

Amersfoort, April, 1980.

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6

THE METHODOLOGY OF THE PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH APPROACH

Deborah Bryceson, Linzi Manicom and Yusuf Kassam

This paper aims at critically examining the participatory research approach (PRA). The paper is divided into five main sections; the first two sections explain the context in which the PRA developed. The third section looks at what the PRA is purported to be and its different political expressions. The fourth section argues for the primacy of methodology in both understanding and evaluating the PRA, while the fifth section concludes by posing issues regarding the future of the PRA in its inevitable institutionalization both professionally in the social sciences and politically with respect to development efforts in the Third World. This paper is intended as a basis for discussion about the PRA. It represents a compendium which is by no means exhaustive on the topic or claiming to be the 'final word'. We ask for constructive and if necessary destructive criticism of our ideas.

I. The social context in which the PRA developed

The PRA arose in the context of thoroughgoing questioning within the field of social research. Such issues as the relationship between the means and ends of social research, the relationship between researcher (whether individual or institution) and the researched, neutrality and objectivity, were re-problematized in the light of a critical reflection on methodological and epistemological questions.

Importantly, this questioning of the precepts of social research was an expression and development of the popular struggles in the advanced capitalist countries. These struggles were posited against the 'establishment', the 'post-industrial' society, and the streamlined bureaucracy of the computer age. The dominant ideological response of humanism assumed an individualized, rather than social form. The articulated goals were the *realisation of self*, the quest for the free human essence, and the subversion of the corporate machine through the reinsertion of the *human be-ing*. This tendency was translated into social research methodologies and techniques where the researcher was encouraged, not to contain, but to employ his/her understanding of the people under study. The *action* component of social research rested on the belief that a recognition of the elements and facets of domination in social life on the part of individual subjects would release them from their conditioned acquiescence. This process on a social scale would bring about liberation. The researcher's role was therefore to *actively* promote an intersubjective context conducive to this actualisation of people's inner selves, in other words, to unlock the door to the inherent human thrust for an undefined *freedom*.

In Third World countries, the glaring contradiction between, on the one hand, the super-sophisticated, politically sterilised, technicist social research practice and the persistent poverty and entrenched *underdevelopment* on the other, threw the issues of social research into even starker political relief. Questions about the objectives of social research, the researcher-researched relationship, were necessarily posed in the light of basic development goals - increased food production, mass literacy etc. Furthermore, these goals were set against the background of escalating anti-imperialist struggles and strengthening capitalist penetration. The answers were equally couched in humanist ideology, but a humanism with a distinctly social focus, that looked to *the people*, *the nation* , *the oppressed* as its subject. Social research in this context, it was recognised, had to be directed towards development, and some went on to say, towards liberation - where development and liberation as concepts with unspecified content were generally seen as synonymous. The social researcher became a selfconscious actor and participant in the process of development and liberation. The PRA took roots in this broad context.

II. The professional context in which the PRA developed

The PRA developed within the frame of a *qualitative approach* to social research. The qualitative approach represented a reaction to the *quantitative approach* which was charged with reducing human beings to scores on socio-economic indices to facilitate computer tabulation. The qualitative approach was advanced in an attempt to study human beings multi-dimensionally. The qualitative data gathering techniques tended not to be structured on interviews of large numbers of people. Large sample size and statistical significance were sacrificed. Instead an attempt was made to get to know those studied in depth to understand the full ramifications of what they did, said and thought and the social systems they evolved.

But the question remains, to what extent did the qualitative approach overcome the legacy of the quantitative approach? This can be examined with respect to *participant observation*, the qualitative social research technique that was in fact the fore-runner of the PRA. Participant observation was described by Freilich (1970:567) as:

> "an important data-gathering technique in active research, since it
> - maintains and/or increases the anthropologist's rapport;
> - provides checks on data collected in other ways
> - provides novel data not otherwise collectable; and
> - helps to isolate and to type key informants."

Described as such, clearly participant observation was merely a more effective means of data collection still bound up with the positivist methodology which held *objectivity* as the primary requisite of social research. Objectivity thus referred to an attitude of scrupulous non-partisanship on the part of the social researcher on the one hand, and the subjecting of qualitatively collected data to rigorous verificational processes on the other. The latter implied the separation of the data-gathering process ('the context of discovery') from, not only the policy-making process ('the context of social action') but also from the context of validation. In other words, once data had been qualitatively gathered, it could be subjected to verificational techniques and serve as the basis of policy-making without further recourse to the concrete situation in which the research had taken place and to which it referred.

What then, it must be asked, is the specificity of the PRA? What distinguished the PRA from other techniques of the *qualitative approach*, particularly participant observation?

III. The participatory research approach

The PRA succeeds to a far greater degree to break with the legacy of so-called *objective* social science. The participatory research approach is not purported to be a methodology but rather has been conceived by its advocates as an approach going beyond the boundaries of a mere data gathering technique. It must be pointed out immediately that the distinguishing features of the PRA can be designated only at a high level of generality. This, as will be shown, is due to the fact that a wide range of research practices and an equally wide range of political ideologies are embraced by the broad category, the PRA. However, it can be argued that the following broad features are integral to the PRA in all its expressions.

Firstly, subjective commitment on the part of the researcher to the people under study is essential. This implies a rejection of the possibility of *value-neutrality* and of the conception of the social researcher as a tool or technician. The researcher must have a sensitivity and democratic identification with the people, the *oppressed*.

Secondly, there is close involvement of the researcher with the researched community. The researcher is perceived as a committed, participatory social actor, who must seek to combine his critical insight and knowledge with the understanding and resources of the local people to trigger new awareness of contradictions facing them. The concept of *dialogue* between the researcher and the community is emphasized as a reaction to the manipulativeness of positivist social research, the over-simplification of social reality through the use of conventional research methodologies such as the survey approach and the alienating, dominating and oppressive character of such methodologies.

Thirdly, the approach is problem-centred. Research is perceived not as mere data-gathering, the result of which can be acted upon by others, the policy-makers. Rather the objective of social research is to understand the conditions underlying a problem in order to resolve the problem by transforming those conditions (be they perceived as social, political or social-psychological).

Fourthly, the PRA is conceived as an educational process for the researchers as well as for the people with whom the research is conducted. The close and active interaction between the researchers and the people through dialogue and discussion, is ultimately aimed at action towards the solution of social contradictions.

Fifthly, the PRA stipulates respect for the people's own capability and potential to produce knowledge and analyse it. Knowledge creation as being the monopoly of the professional researchers alone, as commonly practised by conventional researchers, is challenged by the PRA.

In short, the PRA has been described as a three-pronged activity: an approach to social investigation with the full and active participation of the community in the *entire* research process; a means of taking action for development; and an educational process of mobilization for development, all of which are closely interwoven with each other.

There are actually several different versions of the PRA differing in the degree to which they imply or advocate the researcher's political activism amongst the local people. A few examples will be cited below.

Freire (1972 and 1974) was the first to popularize the PRA on an international scale. His version of the PRA which he refers to as *concientization*, is conceived as a strategy in the liberation of oppressed peoples. He refers to those employing the strategy as revolutionaries rather than researchers. These revolutionaries in union with the local people engage in cultural action in opposition to a dominating power and/or cultural revolution under a revolutionary regime. The revolutionaries' political activism is conceived as democratic in form but guiding:

> The fundamental role of those committed to cultural action for conscientization is not properly speaking to fabricate the liberating ideas, but to invite the people to grasp with their minds the truth of their reality (Freire 1974:76).

De Oliveira and de Oliveira (1975) present another version of the PRA known as *militant observation*. The technique of dialogue central to Freire's conscientization is supplemented with more traditional data collection in the vein of participant observation. Reference is to the researcher not the revolutionary, however the context of the research process is depicted as revolutionary. The researcher's role is to actively politicize in a more pedagogic fashion:

> the process of political education ... is at the heart of the process of militant observation (De Oliveira and de Oliveira 1975:4).

Stavenhagen (1971) wrote about *activist observation*, which he describes as:

> The true synthesis between research on, and participation in the social change process, not - as is so often the case - from the vantage point of the administrator, the outside manipulator of the transitory participating visitor (a common breed of applied anthropologist); but rather at the level of the political organizer, the social agitator (in the noblest expression of the much maligned term), or *the fish in the water* (to use a relevant Chinese metaphor). Thus action and research would be joined both in the interests of furthering knowledge and of contributing to change. (Stavenhagen 1971:339).

Stavenhagen argues for social change, reformist or revolutionary depending on the context. He affirms his approach is compatible even with research under the auspices of organizations firmly a part of the international capitalist system:

> Of course, international aid programs are a far cry from social revolution, and if taken in isolation their efforts will be minute; but then the role of applied social scientist, as I see it, is to act to the best of his ability in terms of his personal ethical commitments, within the institutional framework that he has chosen as his field of action. (Stavenhagen 1971:431).

Other versions of the PRA delimit the process of politicization. Rockhill's (n.d.) notion of *qualitative research* is effused with a complacency for the status quo. In this case political activism is irrelevant and hence ignored. Qualitative research conceived in entirely humanistic terms is aimed at "promoting individual and social capabilities" (Rockhill n.d.:1).

Swantz (1977) defines the boundaries of the researcher's activism as:

> Today the task is to bring these people (poor, middle peasants and Government servants and politicians) into communication with one another within the present political structures and to use first their given rights to demand more say and become more aware of their situation. The people can be made conscious of the existing exploitative practices of self-interested chairmen, petty traders or Government leaders. But this can be done within the framework of Tanzanian socialist practice and it does not at this point of historical development require a class war, in which energy would be spent in dividing instead of building up unity within the existing political structure in rural areas. (Swantz 1977:16).

Kassam's (1977) *anthropocentric approach* synthesizes humanism with national development goals. The researcher's political activism becomes defined by national objectives. This is exemplified in his study of literacy evaluation:

> By using an anthropocentric approach, this little study is primarily designed to capture at least a part of that excitement of the Tanzanian literacy campaign by illuminating its impact on the most personal and qualitative aspects of people's development, a campaign which constitutes one of the most profoundly significant development endeavours in Tanzania. (Kassam 1977:1).

These examples strikingly illustrate the enormous range of political activism that can be accommodated by participatory research's basic approach. The reason why this political spectrum is possible is because the approach is subjective, and idealist. It is explicitly subjective being dependant upon the individual researcher's political views, sensitivity, knowledge and insight. The PRA rarely stipulates what the researcher's frame of reference is or should be beyond recognizing that the people he/she is studying are oppressed or have unrealized capabilities and potential.1) But within this stipulation implicitly resides the philosophy of idealism, which posits the humanness of the researcher as the basis for his/her identity with the oppressed, while the oppressed are viewed as having answers to their self-emancipation by virtue of being oppressed. In other words, oppression is morally romanticized. Furthermore, no criteria are offered for evaluating what constitutes oppression.[2)]

Generally, advocates of the PRA acknowledge that the researcher will enter the field with pre-conceived ideas and expectations based on past experience, reading or even ignorance. As field work progresses his/her original ideas will be re-inforced, altered or entirely rejected as a result of interaction with the people being studied. Never theorized and rarely even questioned are the class interests that the researcher objectively serves, and the false consciousness or ignorance of the oppressed who are blinded by ruling class ideologies or their own petty property interests, as in the case of the peasantry.

The PRA encourages entirely open-ended inter-subjectivity. What of course results is that the individual researcher's philosophical and theoretical biases with their attendant political implications become the basis for the incidental development of an ad-hoc methodology. The ad-hoc methodology develops as the product of the unconscious assimilation of eclectic and often contradictory ideas and value judgements, generally pregnant with dominant class interests which in turn are operationalized in an arbitrary and haphazard fashion.

IV Methodology

It is important to note that there are an array of methodologies that can be consciously adopted which in turn result in a variety of analyses and hence arrive at differing conclusions and problem solutions. Methodologies are identifiable with particular historical class outlooks. This section includes a brief examination of some of the more common eclectic premises of the ad-hoc methodology associated with the PRA. These premises will be traced to particular philosophical traditions.

Definitions

For clarification it is necessary to begin with some definitions of terms used with reference to research.

Research is an activity aimed at gathering and analysing information for the production of new knowledge.

A *technique* is defined as a means of appropriating information, whereas an *approach* is defined as a mode of appropriating information.

A *methodology* is a much more comprehensive term. The means and mode of acquiring knowledge as well as the foundations of the researcher's perceptual and theoretical understanding are embodied in the term. The axis of any methodology is its conception of reality and causal effect which provides the foundation for the production and justification of new knowledge. The way a researcher relates to the people he is studying and the manner in which he gathers information and what he does with the information all follow from his particular conception of reality and causal effect. In other words, a methodology is the unity of a philosophy with a method of abstraction and a method of investigation.

A *problematic* is the particular focus of analysis within the confines of the theoretical framework. The problematic arises from the area of study and the nature of contradictions found therein.

Eclectic premises of the PRA's ad-hoc methodology

Through specification of a researcher's methodology and theoretical framework, the researcher transcends his subjectivity. The researcher's work can then be easily identified with particular class outlooks, philosophical traditions and political tendencies.

The PRA can be primarily traced to the philosophical tradition of pragmatism. However, PRA's tendency towards eclectical absorption makes it vulnerable also to other often conflicting philosophies currently dominating the social sciences, especially idealism and empricism.

The philosophy of pragmatism first formulated by Dewey is summarized by Oquist (1977:10-17). The following brief description of pragmatism extracts the most salient points of Oquist's exposition.

Pragmatism posits knowledge as eventual rather than antecedent. Knowledge arises from human action. The production of knowledge is viewed as beginning with practical problems. The resolution of problems is guided by values. Values are defined as purposes guiding behaviour. Values are conceptualized as criteria for the judgement of external relations, which avoids the usual moral connotations involved when they are denoted as inner personal conditions. In the works of Dewey (1929:247), a value statement is

> a judgement as to the importance and need of bringing a fact into existence; or if it is already there, of sustaining it in existence.

Values are arrived at through affirmative judgement on conditions and results of experienced objects. Values are not regarded as certainties but rather as hypotheses of prospective questions. Ideas guide actions. Actions are undertaken to maximize desired values. As Oquist (1977:14-15) explains:

> The only goal of knowledge is the solution of problematic situations. Knowledge is not an end in itself. It is always a means to the end of *control over values*. Ideas are simply acts to be performed. They are means rather than ends, they are also proximate relative means.

The different versions of the PRA-discussed in section III are firmly rooted in the philosophy of pragmatism as indicated by their disregard for theoretical construction either before launching fieldwork or while the study is in progress.

In addition, the PRA takes the pragmatic position that the relationship between theory and practice is produced by experimental practice. Practice is primary. Knowledge begins and ends with practice. As Oquist (1977: 15) explains:

> Practice is where the problems, that originate research, arise and where one must return for a final accounting of the validity of the knowledge one produces to solve the problematic situation.

The PRA is however logically inconsistent with pragmatism in some respects. Notably suspect is the PRA's adherence to a value judgement while all other ideas are considered operational and testable in relation to practice. The initiating and motivating premise throughout the participatory research process are the value judgements that the people being studied are oppressed or have unrealized potential. These value judgements cannot be discarded without jeopardizing the PRA.

As mentioned before, their value judgements and their moral imperative signify the idealist component of the PRA. Idealism is defined as a philosophical outlook which ignores material causation. Idealists embed social forces in the realm of ideas and trace history as a chronology of men and ideas instead of an unfolding picture of the development of forces of production and production relations. Participatory research clearly evidences idealism in its naive positing of participants, (i.e. the researcher and the people being studied) and their interaction as capable of problem solutions at the level of ideas while ignoring or de-emphasizing the wider context of the economy and objective social forces which could impinge or facilitate remedial social action.

All the versions of the PRA so far discussed exemplify elements of idealism. It is important to note that originally the PRA as it was first conceived by Freire had conflicting elements of idealist and materialist philosophy. The authors following Freire, possibly with the exception of the de Oliveiras, are inclined to increasingly stronger idealism. However, even in the case of Freire notions of materialist causation seem to be incidental to a far more basic acceptance of idealist causation. Even though Freire writes about a dialectic between the superstructure (ideology) and the infrastructure, defined as that "created in the relations by which the work of man transforms the world" (Freire 1974:58), these notions are not an integral part of *conscientization*. Conscientization remains an individualistic and spiritual experience despit the background of revolutionary activism in which it is situated. The following passage from Freire (1974) is effused with humanistic idealism:

> Che Guevara is an example of the unceasing witness revolutionary leadership gives to dialogue with the people. The more we study his work the more we perceive his conviction that any one who wants to become a true revolutionary must be in *communion* with the people. Guevara did not hesitate to recognize the capacity to love as an indispensible condition for authentic revolutionaries. While he constantly noted the failure of the peasants to participate in the guerilla movement, his references to them in the *Bolivian Diary* did not express disaffection. He never lost hope of ultimately being able to count on their participation...
>
> In citing Guevara and his witness as a guerilla, we do not mean to say that revolutionaries elsewhere are obliged to repeat the same witness. What is essential is that they strive to achieve communion with the people - accessible only to those with a utopian vision, in the sense referred to in this essay - is one of the fundamental characteristics of cultural action for freedom. Authentic communion implies communication between men, mediated by the world.

> Only praxis in the context of communion makes *conscientization* a viable project. *Conscientization* is a joint project in that it takes place in a man among other men, men united by their action and by their reflection upon that action and upon the world. Thus men together achieve the state of perceptive clarity which Goldman call "the maximum of potential consciousness" beyond "real consciousness". (Freire 1974:74-75).

Idealism which ignores the objective class interests of the researcher as well as the oppressed themselves can simply posit liberation as an attitude of mind. The *oppressed* and the researcher somehow transcend their classes and mutually partake in a spiritual *communion* whose basis is a common humanity. While the experience may provide romantic passages for the researcher's future book, it leaves the *oppressed* in much the same state of affairs.

The PRA's absorption of empiricist elements is possible only at the expense of its pragmatic foundation. Empiricists regard facts as value-free and based upon neutral observation of reality. In opposition pragmatists bring the facts into existence on the basis of value judgements. But pragmatism nevertheless bears similarity to empiricism in the sense that both philosophies take facts as unproblematic. Empiricists claim to derive facts directly from reality. Pragmatists on the other hand, derive facts from problematic situations, i.e. only the situations are considered problematic not the facts. Both philosophical traditions mystify the nature of facts.

Facts are actually never given even when they may be viewed as conditional on a specified situation, as in pragmatism. Facts are always problematic. In other words, facts are always theoretical interpretations of empirical conditions.

As facts are being observed by the researcher and especially after they are recorded, they are already implicitly or explicitly a part of the theoretical constructs of the researcher. The categories in which information is either unconsciously perceived or consciously collected orders reality. For example, a researcher gathering information on peasants' annual monetary incomes for a particular area would ultimately be able to present a picture of social stratification based on his facts. Another researcher gathering information in the same geographical area collects data on ownership of means of production: land, ploughs, stock, etc. On the basis of his facts an entirely different picture of much greater social differentiation emerges. *His* facts reveal that there are landed property owners with wealth tied up in fixed capital (a phenomenon which would not have become evident using the annual monetary income category of the first researcher) versus landless rural proletariat who are forced to sell their labour power for a wage.

Neither researcher has distorted his respective facts. But the facts are different for the same reality, based on differing theoretical frames of reference. Why the frames of reference and hence the facts differ has to be understood in relation to the developing class struggle and the role the researcher objectively plays in the class struggle.

The PRA as was explained before aims at social change but there is no surety the net result will be revolutionary, reformist or even reactionary change. The PRA's stipulation that the researcher be sincerely interested and sympathetic to the people he/she is studying is nothing more than romantic idealism which provides little guarantee one way or the other. What is far more significant is that the inherent ecleticism of the PRA gives rise to an ad hoc methodology which flexibly allows various political versions of the PRA to emerge. The PRA researcher's stated intention to facilitate progressive social change for the oppressed is realizable only to the extent that the political implications of his specific ad hoc version of the PRA coincide with the objective interests of the *oppressed*. If and when progressive social change occurs it is never accountable to the PRA, but rather is attributable to fortuitous subjective factors on the part of the individual researcher or the *oppressed* being studied.

V. The institutionalization of the PRA

There is one final consideration to be made in this paper related to the theme of the politics of research. It is necessary to take note that each and every social researcher who adopts the PRA and practices it, whether discriminately or indiscriminately with regard to methodology, contributes to the institutionalization of the PRA both in a professional sense vis-a-vis the social sciences and more importantly in a political sense vis-a-vis development efforts in the Third World.

What does institutionalization imply in the world of social science and social development at large today? It is perhaps too early to say. The PRA has not congealed into any one political tendency and perhaps given its eclectic nature it never will, but rather will take on different political complexions in response to different national regional and local contexts.

Nicholaus (1972:52) stated that there is only one general *sociological law;* namely "that the oppressors research the oppressed". Clearly, the PRA rejects this, and embraces the belief that social commitment can invalidate the sociological law. However, there is a need to be alert to two issues regarding the use of PRA in social research. These issues are related to the fact that even within the context of PRA tenets the PRA could very easily degenerate into *social espionage* in the Third World, despite the best intentions and commitment towards those being studied on the part of the PRA researcher.

Firstly, this is possible because the PRA social researcher rarely escapes being in a position of paid employment or financial sponsorship by one or another agency with vested interests in Third World development. Under these circumstances the PRA researcher is rarely given complete discretion to carry on research in the manner he/she sees fit, regarding content, tempo etc. Thus the inter-subjectivity of the PRA portrayed as a dual relationship between the researcher and the *oppressed* is actually three-fold. There is almost always a third party, the sponsorship agency, who may remain a shadow, but nevertheless makes its presence felt. This third party may intervene in various ways, e.g. by demanding practical results of a certain sort at a certain time or project documentation at awkward moments etc. Thus the *result* generated by the PRA project can ultimately become a programmed product of the sponsoring agency. The question that all researchers committed to the tenets of the PRA would have to ask themselves is: What are the interests of the sponsoring agency? The sponsoring agency may be benevolent, patronizing, dominating or dangerously counter-reform and reactionary. Almost all PRA procjects are thus bounded by the expectations and intentions of a sponsoring agency.

Secondly, any output of a PRA project whether it be the form of material reform or even just project documentation once released outside the boundaries of the inter-subjective relationship of the participants (i.e. the researcher and those studied) will have social repercussions that are beyond their control. If the commitment upon which the PRA is premised is to have any meaning, then the researcher in conjunction with those studied would have to anticipate the possible effects on the PRA project. In the more materialist conceptions of the PRA, depending on their political interpretations of social forces, participants would have to consider the possible impact on progressive struggles in the wider community, the nation and around the world as well. Of course, as stated above, the amount of control the participants have within their power even regarding the release of the material and/or ideological products they generate is limited. However, to the extent that control is possible, for the sake of conformity to the principle of social commitment, control would have to be exercised in a responsible manner.

Notes

1) Exceptions to the norm are to be found in papers such as Fals Borda (1977).

2) To concretize the above point, it would be thoroughly consistent with the PRA tencts to adopt a humanist outlook that regarded executives of international capitalist finance suffering from mental stress, hypertension and stomach ulcers as 'oppressed'.

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7

THE STRUGGLE IN DHULIA: A WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN INDIA

Vijay P. Kanhare

Background conditions of tribal peoples

Dhulis district is in the north of Maharashtra State. Shahada and Taloda are the two most fertile *taluks* of Dhulia. The *adivasis* (the term used for tribal peoples) in this area are mostly landless labourers. For a long time, they have been subjected to oppression by the upcoming rich farmers. During the British rule, they went through the difficult process of settling down on the plains as labourers. They were forced to labour in order to repay loans. The old forms are still used for making them work harder. Loans, advances, false accounting, threats of law - all are used to oppress them. And through these methods, their exploitation continues.

Any idea of rebellion or small acts of disobedience were forbidden. They were caught by the watchmen, confined, beaten up, and forced to pay fines. The cooperative crop protection societies had a great deal of power. These societies were registered with the registrar of cooperative societies. They were virtual rulers of this area. No labourer could challenge their orders.

In Manrad village of Shahada taluk the society had given a public notice saying: "No farmer should pay more than 75 paise per day; or else he will have to pay a fine of Rs.51."

Land owned by tribals was forcibly cultivated by the rich farmers. The adivasis had lost their rights on most of the land. These conditions were oppressive for all the labourers, but even more so for the women. Rich farmers considered the tribal women as their own private property. Sexual harassment was rampant. Women were insecure not only in lonely fields but even in their own huts. The police and the forest officials had their own share of pleasure at the cost of the women.

Women used to get lower wages than men. And they had to do work in the fields, as well as do all the domestic work and look after the children. Unlike in the upper castes, the adivasis have a system of giving bride price. A man often tells his wife, "I did not buy you for nothing". Women had to go through beatings by drunkard husbands. Women had no voice in the meetings of "elders". In this system, the older men used to give their judgement about divorces, marriages, re-marriages, and fines with respect to sexual relations.

Tribal women are in a little better position than the upper-caste women as far as divorces are concerned. They go out of their homes and earn; they can think of being financially independent. They can demand a divorce more easily and get it through the "elders".

The struggle

The struggle for the liberation of land and against atrocities started against the above background. From January to March, 1972, women had sporadically participated in the struggle for land. In the months of April and May, 1972, the struggle for wages began. This struggle affected women more, as most of the tribal women were labourers. Previously there had been regular propaganda against rapes of adivasi women and other sexual atrocities. In March, 1972, during the assembly election, the organization had adopted the slogan of "returning the votes". This was due to all the problems of adivasis and two or three immediate reasons. One of them was the rape of an adivasi woman. In this manner, women's problems were touched upon. In the wage struggles, women came out more actively.

At Mod, they participated in a *morcha* (loosely translated as a "sit-in protest") with some doubts, but with a desire to shout slogans against atrocities. At Pariwardha, they were more militant and took the lead in persuading strike breakers.

At Pariwardha, in the negotiations, male labourers and rich farmers said, "We will settle the women's wages". The women present objected saying, "We will negotiate our own wages". Because the women had taken an active part in the strikes, the males had to concede that women would negotiate their own wages.

Women's problems were discussed in the context of the land question, the sexual atrocities, and women's wages. Propaganda was also waged against the habit of drinking liquor by men who did not look after their families and beat up their wives. These issues, however, were not discussed as *women's* problems.

It was thought necessary to attempt to increase the participation of women in the struggle, to understand their problems and to unite women. It was decided by full-time activists to take up women's camp. The objective of the camp was that women from various villages would come together. By being together in the camp for three days, they would develop a feeling of solidarity and be able to broaden their views beyond their own village. Secondly, they would get an opportunity to speak out about their conditions and discuss their problems. The main objective, however, remained that of increasing the participation of women in the general class movement.

The initial involvment was of the full-time activists, some women, and young boys. The basis of the activity of the full-timers was that every person should be treated as a human being and participate in matters that concern him/her. The specific awareness of "women's liberation" was not there. Women were enthusiastic because it concerned their issues, but more so because it was going to be their camp.

The women's camp

After taking the decision about the women's camp, it was discussed in night meetings at villages. Women were greatly enthused. Still they had doubts. "What can we discuss for two full days? We cannot talk much, express ourselves much". Only at places like Tarhavad village, the men voiced their doubts, "If women go for camps, who would cook, who would look after the children? Men may go to camps, not women," they said. The women murmured their protest, their dissent, but they wondered who would look after their children. The activists proposed that three women be chosen to go and others volunteer to look after their children. This was accepted. But actually, not a single woman from *this* village came for the camp. In the other villages, the response was greater. In some villages, in the place of four or five women who were going to come from one village, 10 to 11 women came. Some women attended the camp only at intervals. Women from the nearby villages used to come in large numbers, attend the sessions, and rush back home. Women from Kharvad village had taken the responsibility for the food and water arrangements. Young boys were extremely helpful in the preparations.

In the camp, firstly, we tried to explain why a women's camp was necessary. We briefly touched upon the women's participation in the movement and the necessity to increase it, the importance of taking up women's problems. The women first introduced themselves. It was not a mere formality. It was a novel experience for the women to stand up and tell their names and villages with nobody to threaten them. Many women and very few males attended. Getting to know other women from 15 villages at a time was a rich experience for them, a beginning (though small) of the realization of a feeling of solidarity.

Then the women described their conditions in their own language and the rest of the women listened, relating these accounts to their own experiences. Some women felt very shy about speaking before such a big gathering. Some could not express themselves properly. Others felt that they should not discuss their personal problems in a gathering. But slowly they learnt to describe their village, their conditions, the sexual harassment in the past, the usual filthy practices of watchmen and the rich farmers. Under the pretext of a suspicion of theft, the watchmen of the crop protection societies tried to search the clothes of women. The women were very angry about this practice of the crop protection societies.

Malibai from Karankheda village was extremely agitated. She said, "We complain that men drink liquor, that they become corrupt due to drinking. We complain that they beat us up. We want to do something about this problem. Our village is small. But it produces hundreds of litres of liquor, and the men beat us up. We women of Karankheda are not organised. Can the other women help us? We need help." This sparked off a heated condemnation of Karankheda men. At the same time, the women became aware of the necessity of solidarity, the help which Malibai had talked about. They all wanted to do something about the liquor at Karankheda and this village was just a mile away from Kharwad, where the camp was going on.

Next day was the last day of the camp. Ambersingh, the adivasi leader, related a news report he had read. When the then Prime Minister Mrs Indira Gandhi was on the tour of a certain state, there were many policemen for her protection and many thousand rupees had been spent for the purpose. He compared this with the adivasi woman who had to go to the fields and to the jungle all alone for gathering food, cutting wood, and agricultural work and who was always in danger of being harassed, sexually molested or raped by the rich farmers, watchmen, and forest guards. The police do not do anything if she dares to lodge a complaint. So there is nobody to protect an adivasi labourer woman. "No", he continued, "it is not correct to say so. Adivasi women themselves have to protect themselves and their sisters. They should carry knives with them to protect themselves and collectively beat up whoever tries to make use of their bodies." They learnt this in their first camp. Ambersingh had expressed and voiced their own desires.

After the public meeting, all the women attending the camp went to Karankheda and they all cordoned off the village so that no bootlegger could run away. They broke all liquor pots and bottles. They also declared that thenceforth any bootlegger, any man who drinks and beats up his wife would be heavily punished. And they should remember that Karankheda women are not alone anymore.

This was the beginning, a firm beginning, of women's more conscious participation in the movement. Initially, women from villages like Mod used to move in groups of fifty, go to nearby villages, tell the women to indicate the place where liquor was brewed, ask the women to get organised and punish the husbands who beat their wives. In some villages, guilty men were forced to bow before the women; in others, their heads were shaved.

Women's participation against sexual harassment increased and with that their agitation against wife-beating. They realized their strength for the first time. By uniting, they had taught a lesson to the wife-beating husbands in at least one village. With this beginning, women moved ahead. The activists and women could deepen their understanding on this basis. A more organised struggle against the arrogant, rich corrupt officials and rapists could take place, could develop through this initial beginning. The women and the activists could reach this stage because of the specific methods employed by the movement. At Pariwardha, women *could* insist that they negotiate their own wages because of the practice developed: all the women and men labourers being present outside the place of the negotiations. It was impossible for the representatives to bypass the women. The labourers sat just outside and constantly kept in touch with the negotiations. This particular method made it possible for the women to force their claim of participating in the negotiations.

The idea of the camp was not forced down the throats of women. Only the date, place, and so on was fixed by the activists. In the night meetings, the necessity of women coming together, of women participating vigorously in the struggle was discussed. It was felt that they represented half of the labouring population and should not remain outside the movement. During the camp the women spoke out and this itself brought forward the fact that what they considered to be isolated, personal problems, were in fact social problems. After their initial efforts to speak out, they became bolder and their self-confidence increased. As women from Mod commented, "We never thought we had the strength to speak in a gathering of 100 - 150 women, that we could shout slogans in front of and against the *maaldars* (rich)."

Here we can pinpoint the second aspect about the process, namely, that women first emboldened, had greater self-confidence in their struggle against the maaldars, the watchmen, on class issues. Only later could they think of struggling within the family against wife-beating. But this could take place because there was an awareness of taking up issues that affected them *as women*, of going forward to take up women's issues. Short of this, the potentialities of the women to struggle against women's oppression could not have been realised.

A constant self-critical discussion, dialogue was the method adopted for going ahead. In some of the later study circles, a very stereotyped method was adopted: the necessity of the subjects discussed was not established. But self-criticism led to change. A continuous reflection on their past activity by the activists and also by the leading non-full-time women is a must for the healthy development of the movement.

As was seen before the camp, the problem was identified by the women at Pariwardha in their own way: "Men are sure that women cannot think, cannot talk, cannot negotiate their own wages. The men who drink and beat us up think this." At various places, the identification of the problem was done by the activists and the women. During the camp, it was a collective identification of the problem by the women themselves. They heard each other and identified the immediate problems: sexual harassment by the rich, wife-beating, bootlegging. In the later camps, we saw the problem of the "elder" system, the male-dominated value system, myths like the woman becoming unholy during menstruation, as problems being discussed and tackled. For these discussions some urban non-full-time women were also present.

I do not think such compartments as date gathering, date analysis etc. are valid in the above process. In the first women's camp and before too, we saw all the aspects merging one into the other. For instance, the Karankheda women talked about their plight, the rest of the women asked what the other Karankheda women thought, whether if they organised themselves there would be some men to support them. Immediately after this, all the women marched to the village and acted, i.e. broke the liquor pots. In this way, problem identification, data gathering, and concrete action went hand-in-hand.

Village women learning to participate in the wider society

In the camps, the women came to know about the workers' movements in other areas of India. They also learnt about the women's movement in other areas and in other parts of the world. When they went to *morchas*, some of them visited huge factories, met factory workers and other activists. The activists learnt about the "elder" system and divorce procedures and their social meaning.

The women started regarding themselves as human beings and began fighting for their rights. They soon realized that women all over the world are struggling for their rights and against oppression, that the problems of women were not restricted to their villages but are faced by all the toiling masses, especially women. They felt that a deeper analysis of these problems was necessary. Through the initial struggles of the women, the activists were exposed to the perspectives and problems of women's liberation: the problem of male domination, the relationship between the emancipation of women and the stage of development of society, the history of women's liberation and the workers' movement and the problems it poses.

A deep-seated male chauvinism gets expressed in apparently small comments, attitudes, etc. The male activist learnt the necessity of analysing these at every instance. Every workers' movement has to be conscious of the important task of tackling women's problems.

When women came out of their homes in order to struggle against the rich classes, they become potential fighters for the women's liberation movement and workers' liberation. All conscious activists should be aware of helping in developing these potentialities. A continuous process of exchange of thoughts between the participants, a critical attitude towards one's own practice is necessary for any healthy development of the movement. The basis on which a researcher may begin his work, may change. One has always to keep this possibility in mind. The best process is collective identification of the problem.

8

LAND OWNERSHIP IN APPALACHIA, USA: A CITIZENS' RESEARCH PROJECT

John Gaventa

Patterns of land ownership

Stretching along a mountain range from the state of New York at the north to the state of Alabama at the south is a region of the United States known as Appalachia - the most densely populated rural area in the country. The images most often associated with Appalachia are those of poverty. Yet Appalachia is not poor. Within its borders lies vast wealth, in the form of resources - coal, land, timber, water. While the region is not poor, her people scarcely benefit from her wealth.

To a great degree, the reason for the contrast of wealth amongst poverty lies in the ownership and use of the land. Who owns the land affects the use to which the land is put, in turn affecting the jobs that develop, the housing available, the environment, the tax base, the very structure of community life. Through the ownership of land and its use rural communities thrive or are controlled. Increasingly in Appalachia land is owned by corporate, often absentee, interests. Yet, unlike in many other rural parts of the world, land reform has not emerged as a major political issue.

Today, the problems surrounding land ownership intensify. Look at the trends:

> *Coal Lands:* For almost a century most of the coal lands of Central Appalachia have been owned and controlled by large, primarily absentee corporations. In some counties up to 85 per cent of the land is corporate and absentee owned. With the energy boom, coal land speculation is again on the rise, and is no longer confined to the Central Appalachian or even rural areas. To see the patterns, one need only look at the almost one million acres acquired by coal companies in recent years in southern Tennessee, western Alabama or eastern Mississipi, or at the land shortages faced in the suburbs of Birmingham due to the ownership by U.S. Steel.
>
> *Agricultural Lands:* Appalachia has been known historically as the land of the hillside farmer. But the farmer can no longer make it on his land. His options are few: he must work elsewhere, usually in small factories, to make enough money to keep his land, or he must sell the land to a developer and move. Recent studies have made us aware of the enormous loss of black-owned land in the south. One suspects that similar pressures are forcing small white owners off their land as well.
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> *Recreation Lands:* Tourism is promoted in some areas of Appalachia as the path for economic development. But the recreation industry, too, brings pressures that force people from the land, changing farms to golf courses, homes to condominiums, and wells to water slides.

These ownership patterns have produced in Appalachia a unique class of rural, industrial workers. Yet, while rural, they do not live off the soil; while industrial, their values and their communities are rooted in the land.

In the last decade, community groups in Appalachia have tried to battle numerous ill-effects of the ownership patterns - the wanton destruction of land by strip mining, the lack of land for housing, low tax base and poor services, flooding, loss of agricultural land, broad form deeds and land leases. Yet, there has not been in the region a movement to deal with the land ownership patterns as underlying causes of the local problems, and there has been only limited documentation of the extent to which the local problems may be regional or national in scope.

Major floods in 1977 brought us a step closer to a regional effort. Worsened by strip mining, the floods left thousands homeless; yet, relief trailers went empty for lack of available land, while the government refused to seize corporate land for the cause. In response to call from citizens of Mingo County, West Virginia, groups from around the region gathered together. The Appalachian Alliance, a coalition of these groups, was formed. Questions of land ownership were high on the agenda for study and for action.

Despite the concerns, there remained serious obstacles. The Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC), the multimillion dollar government agency concerned with Appalachian development, had never in its 12 year history looked at land in its research nor in its policies. In fact, its strategies of supporting the "growth centers" rather than the more rural communities encouraged urbanization and the movement of people into towns. The land was left for even greater corporate exploitation. Whenever the Alliance or other groups attempted to confront the policy makers on the issues, they would be told that land-related problems were neither extensive nor severe. Without the comprehensive information for which to argue, the community groups were unable to challenge effectively the failures in public policy. The Alliance established a Task Force to continue to work on land and taxation issues. Later, the Task Force was joined by a group of scholars from the Appalachian Studies Conference, who also wanted to work on the land problem.

In August 1978, the Task Force was encouraged to learn that the ARC did plan a study on land. However, the hopes did not last long. In a meeting with ARC representatives, the Task Force learned that the ARC study was to look primarily at "settlement patterns" of people on the land, ignoring the more basic questions of how the ownership patterns affected those patterns. The meeting did serve, however, as a catalyst - the Task Force decided to move to conduct its own study and to challenge ARC's research priorities.

From the beginning then, it was hoped that the land ownership study would provide comprehensive information that would be useful to local groups and which would influence regional and national policies on land-related questions. Yet, also from the beginning, there were other equally important goals:

- To provide a model for citizens doing their own research, growing out of their own local needs and concerns, rather than for professional consulting firms doing research based on needs and interests of government agencies;
- Through the research process, to train local citizens and groups in obtaining information they need;
- Through the research process, to develop a network of individuals and groups who would be concerned with landrelated issues and who would be committed to using the results of the study for constructive action;
- Using the results of the research process, to begin to educate and to mobilize a broader constituency of local groups for action on land-related questions in their own communities, as well as at the state and regional level.

The means of implementing these goals can be seen in the various steps of the study.

The initial encounter: citizens' based research versus the experts

In attempting to find funding for such a study, the logical place to begin would seem to be the Appalachian Regional Commission, the very agency with which the citizens' groups were concerned. However, the possibility of funding from ARC was not on the minds of the Alliance members when they met the ARC Research Committee later in August 1978. They had come to challenge the "land settlement" project of the Commission and to push the Commission into making more fundamental "land ownership" questions a top research priority for the upcoming years.

The Research Committee with which the citizens met distributed millions a year in research contracts; the citizens' representatives had all been working "at the grassroots" with scarce funds for years. So the meeting represented a classic confrontation - between those who control the production of information, and those who need it for social change. Several items about the meeting are instructive:

While citizens' groups had confronted the Commission in the past about the outcomes of its research process, i.e. its development strategies, never before had a confrontation been against the research process itself. And, likewise, while the Commission as a whole was quite smooth at co-opting or rebuffing citizens pressure, a challenge to the research procedures - the traditional purview of like-minded experts - was something of a surprise. Up until that time the allocation of research funds had been an informal backroom affair amongst compatible technocrats and politicians with little public scrutiny. Millions had been used for porkbarrel projects in the states, or for high priced consultant firms to provide data legitimating status quo development strategies. No research funds had ever been provided to citizens' groups or even to academics within Appalachia for their own research projects. Clearly, the research machinery served to support certain interests over others. But, until now, these broad political questions about who controlled the creation of "legitimate" knowledge about Appalachia had not been raised directly.

The group of activists and regional academics who sought to confront ARC recognized from the outset that the Committee would seek to minimize the differences between the Alliance' research interests and the Commission's. After all, the Commission would argue, research is an apolitical, objective approach to common problems whose conduct is open to rational discussion amongst those suitably qualified. It was also suspected that the Commission would seek to appeal to the egos of the more academically qualified of the Alliance Task Force, to co-opt them as "colleagues" in the research process. The citizens' based researchers adopted a *collective bargaining strategy*: a) they would choose their own spokespersons (always more than one), who would be accountable to the members; and b) the group would refuse to provide the commission the product of their labor, their locally based knowledge and research on land patterns, until their objectives of making land ownership a chief research priority was obtained.

Both facets of the collective bargaining approach proved useful. Before the Research Committee meeting, the Commission staff telephoned certain members of the Alliance, suggesting that the discussion would be more useful if they were the ones to come and speak for the group, especially since they were the more qualified, could talk most knowledgeably, etc. In response, the Commission was told bluntly that the citizens would decide both who and how many representatives would speak for them.

Upon arrival at the meeting, the Alliance' members were then introduced as having come to provide information useful to the Commission on its planned "land settlement" study. The group responded that while they did have enormous amounts of information which would be quite useful to the Commission, none of it would be provided until research priorities were altered to address the fundamental land ownership questions.

The collective withholding of knowledge, especially from those so used to controlling it, provided great conflict. A barrage of charges were made against the citizens' group, ranging from their not being qualified to advise on research, to their asking for research for research' sake. An adjournment was called for lunch - which the citizens' group then discovered was an excuse for the Committee to meet behind closed doors (a violation of the Sunshine Act). Gradually, members of the Committee began to admit that the land ownership question was politically too controversial for them to handle, or that they did not consider the ownership questions pertinent to their conservative development strategies. They began to suggest the group should go back and develop a paper about their perspective on the question, showing how the matter could be researched, etc. The citizens' group refused, saying again that none of their own knowledge would be provided until the topic was made a priority of the Committee. If the Commission wasn't ready to spend time on it, then neither were they. The citizens prepared to walk out, leaving the issue unresolved.

The research process often legitimates itself through an "apolitical", "objective" image; similarly, it is vulnerable to having the image tarnished. Apparently, the threat of walk out, which would consequently open the Committee to charges that it had failed to address a major area of citizens' concern due to its political sensitivity, was effective. The Committee agreed to make land ownership a priority for research and asked citizens' researchers to submit a proposal themselves for the study. The Alliance' delegates requested the promise in writing and left.

Formulating a research plan

Following the meeting with the Commission, the representatives of the Alliance met to consider the Committee's offer. Could the Alliance develop a study funded by the Commission that allowed it to gain information they needed without losing control of the process? Without having to adopt a neutralizing research design? Without moving from a citizens' base to a more academic one? In considering the questions, the Task Force felt that it had argued for a commitment from the Commission; it could not now refuse to follow through. Moreover, the information from the study was needed, both for local goals and for challenging regional and national policies. Not fully expecting funding, the Task Force decided to submit a proposal which was thorough but uncompromising in its approach.

The proposal outlined a decentralized, participatory research plan. In each of six states, state task forces of citizens would develop plans of which counties they wanted to study, what approaches should be taken, what issues demanded concentration. The groups would choose a state coordinator, accountable to them, to implement the study. Local citizens or local students would be used as field workers. Funds would be divided equally amongst the states, except those funds going to regional administration, coördination and computer analysis.

Each state group had representatives upon the regional Task Force. This Task Force also had a coordinator and a small research staff to gather regional information and to assist the local groups. With the help of the staff, the Task Force would synthesize the local research plans, thus allowing enough uniformity in approach to allow regional as well as local analysis.

Through this decision-making scheme, and with a number of fruitful meetings, the group decided upon a research design which would help gather data broad enough for regional impact without losing the specificity needed for local action. In general, it included the following:

- In 80 counties in six states, researchers would collect information from tax rolls on all land and mineral owners with over 250 acres and all corporate or absentee owners with over 20 acres. Information would include the size of holdings, taxes paid, land use, address of owner, etc. All of the information would be computerized to aid in the analysis. With this base data, information could be developed by county, state or region on the concentration of corporate and absentee ownership; property tax inequities land use and so on.
- In 20 counties, extensive case studies would examine the impact of the ownership patterns on economic development, community development and the fiscal health of local governments. The case studies would

show the relationship of the land patterns to such things as jobs, environment, housing, local power structures, taxes, education and services.

- For the 80 counties in which land ownership data would be gathered, other socio-economic data would also be collected. This would allow the testing of relationships found in the case studies on the broader sample. For instance, is there a relationship between concentrated absentee corporate ownership and failing school systems due to the impact of land ownership on the tax base?

While the counties chosen had enough diversity to provide a legitimate sample of the region, they also reflected the needs of the citizens' groups involved: i.e. where they had local members, where they targeted action, where they needed to develop new strategies. The proposal was prepared and sent to ARC for consideration.

Negotiating the contract - Round II

Somewhat to the surprise of the Task Force, the proposal was accepted (January 1979). A grant of $ 100 000 was given for the project, representing a medium-sized commitment for the Commission and a large amount of money for the citizens' groups. However, two conditions were put on the grant: 1) that the project be phased, so that the bulk of the funds would not be released until a planning phase had been completed satisfactorily; 2) that research funds would not be spent in any state until the governor's office in that state gave approval. While initially appearing relatively innocuous, the interplay of these two conditions was to create problems.

The Appalachian Regional Commission is a unique experiment in federal-state partnership. Its Washington staff of over 100 is accountable both to the President, represented by a Federal Co-Chairman, and the governors of the 13 Appalachian States, represented by a States' Co-Chairman. Given this structure, as the planning phase of the study neared its end the Commission staff began to worry greatly about the potential controversy that such a study might create for the governors and local politicians, many of whom were closely allied with the coal industry, often the major landholders to be investigated. "They are afraid it will affect the political futures of certain Appalachian politicians" (and thus also the future of the Commission staff members) was one statement given by a staff member about his superiors. Two ploys began to be used by the Commission which caused conflicts.

The first had to do with demands by the Commission staff for more structured scientific research design, a so-called "mutually acceptable framework of analysis". While the Commission staff could not very easily tell Task Force not to look at certain landholders or issues, they could attempt to protect themselves by demanding elaborate plans for every stage of the research and by clearing the plans through superiors before releasing funds. By requesting a "framework of analysis" they could also get a better feel for how the data would be handled.

At the same time, the demands for more "scientific design"led to delays in approval of the funds. Meanwhile, of course, citizens and students were being recruited for the study, scheduled to begin in the summer of 1979. For many of these people, the project could not be delayed; they depended upon it for a summer job, or had already left other jobs for this one. The Task Force was put in a bind of battling for control of the study with the ARC, while at the same time increasing risks to the members if the negotiations failed.

In may 1979, when training was to begin, the contract still had not been signed. The Task Force was faced with the alternatives of postponing the project while the methodological disputes were resolved and risk losing momentum, or of demanding approval of funds with the risk of having them cut off later if the methodology was not accepted. Again, the collective negotiating strategy was used. The Task Force held the training workshop, and informed the Commission that if the contract had not been approved by the end of the meeting, the project would be dropped. The group would then turn its attentions to exposing the reasons behind the impasse. Moreover, while negotiations would continue on the methodological questions, assurance would have to be provided that no funds would be cut off to the field workers if the disputes were not resolved. On the last night of the workshop, at the "midnight hour", the contract was approved.

Training and recruitment of field workers

Simultaneous to negotiations with ARC, recruitment and training of field staff had to occur. The recruitment was not difficult. By now the project had gathered widespread interest amongst those concerned with community change in the region. Some sixty people joined in to help. Most were members of existing community groups, or individuals seeking ways to begin to address land-related problems in thier communities. They were school teachers, housewives, community workers. Others were students, recruited from Appalachian Studies programs in local colleges. Many worked for salaries; others chose to work as volunteers to allow the funds to stretch further in their states.

Because most of these field workers had not been involved before in formal research, a heavy emphasis was put on training. The three day workshop was held at the beginning of the project for all participants. Follow up sessions were held periodically in each state. Skills had to be taught - where to find data, how to fill in coding forms using land books in the tax assessors' office, conducting interviews. While the training provided a base-line of hard data to be collected in every state, the case study approaches were left somewhat open-ended to allow local groups to pursue their own themes of interest. While useful for preparing researchers for data collection, the sessions also allowed a way to begin to fulfill other goals of the process; educating local leaders and linking local groups into a broader network with a common perspective and interest in working together beyond the research stage.

Data gathering: citizens using innovative methods

The first phase of the research involved entering the courthouse and copying on to coding forms from tax records lists of owners, taxes paid, size of ownership, etc. Here, the citizens' based research easily proved its merits. Procedures were clear; the importance of the data for local purposes widely understood. Page after page of property figures which would have been tedious, meaningless numbers for the outside expert became items of great intrigue for the citizen researcher. To them, the numbers and names represented power and powerholders they knew. The data quickly gave them insights into local community affairs. With such motivation, the citizen often took time to search out information that investigators who were simply in it for "the job" would not have pursued or would have reported as missing.

Within two months, the basic data had been gathered for most of the 80 counties.

In the more open-ended, exploratory case studies of the impact of land pattern upon the community, results were more mixed. The task would have been a complex one, even for highly trained researchers. No easy way existed to develop structured research plans without lapsing into an artificial survey instrument that imposed *a priori* assumptions about the community, and which limited the extent to which field workers could use their own knowledge and contacts to conduct the research. While a check-list was developed of relationships to be explored, of types of persons to interview and data sources to use, researchers were strongly encouraged to use their own ideas to implement the study. For some, the task was easier than for others. But, on the whole, as the citizens started asking questions locally and moved from one source to another, a picture of the impacts of land ownership developed which could not have been attained through the standardized research design.

From the perspective of the ARC, this aspect of the methodology was perhaps the most contentious. They wanted the assurance of a more "scientific" approach in which the same questions were asked the same way across a similar sample in every community. The Task Force successfully made the argument that the state of knowledge about the impact of land ownership did not lend itself to such a research design, and that the open-ended approach was no less "scientific" than the other. In fact, of course, the approach had enormous implications for the tone of the study. While Appalachian people would be highly cautious in response to a standard questionnaire implemented by outsiders, the open-ended, locally-based approach brought out a depth of feeling and vividness of expression about corporate absentee ownership which would not otherwise have been heard. And, of course, the informal approach allowed the development of a relationship with those being interviewed that could more easily be translated later into action and organization.

Data analysis: people facing common issues

As of this writing (November 1979), most of the material has been collected. The analysis process is beginning with state reports being developed by locally-based state coordinators, and with regional coordination and analysis by the central staff. Even initially, it is clear that the citizens' research process has produced one of the most comprehensive surveys of land ownership patterns and their related impacts in the United States. The findings have the potential for significant local and regional impact.

The analysis process also helped to lay the groundwork for insuring the findings would be used. In September 1979, at the end of much of the field work, field workers who had gathered for training only four months before, now gathered to report on their findings. As the reports were being made by each person involved, it became clear that one goal of the project had been attained: a number of people, with a little training and support, had uncovered tremendous amounts of information. In the process, they had already begun to acquire knowledge which they were relating to their own lives and their communities. With the sharing of the findings with one another, connections were made between one's situation and that of others. Regional patterns began to appear, while, simultaneously, important linkages began to be made amongst people facing common issues. While the workshop thus helped with the final report, it also began to build the network of people who would work to implement the report's conclusions.

Completing the circle for education and action

In the contract negotiations, a point of contention had involved control over the findings of the study. While it had been agreed that the Commission could decide to accept or reject the formal report, it had no say over other ways which the groups involved chose to use the information. Thus, the dissemination process will occur at two levels. Regionally, a report will be developed and submitted to the ARC with the findings of the study. The conclusions are likely to be controversial. As part of the research contract, the Commission has a period of one month to decide whether to release and publish the report as one of its official reports. If it does not, the Task Force will release and publish the findings themselves.

Simultaneous to the preparation of the final report, the Task Force and state groups are making plans for perhaps the most important phase of the project - tying the research back to empowering communities and alliances for further education and action on land-related issues. In a sense, this phase will complete the circle - the project began out of needs identified by groups in the Appalachian Alliance for more comprehensive information; now, the research process must return back to strengthening these and other groups' efforts for community and regional change.

There is no set recipe for how this is to be done. The strategies in each state will vary, depending upon the issues, the organizations already in place, the level of awareness already present. In every state, however, our plan is to develop a process through which: a) the information is put in locally usable forms which relate to grassroot issues and groups; b) a series of community meetings, workshops or gatherings are held to develop further awareness of ownership questions, and to coalesce or further strengthen local organizing; c) assistance is provided to developing new organizations or to strengthening existing ones for action on the issues.

Research, even of the participatory ilk, does not a movement make. Yet, as the case study shows, a citizens' based research process can be used both to gain information needed for action and to educate community leaders, link communities facing common problems, coalesce local organizations, and serve as a spark for change. In Appalachia, the groups involved in the project will use the information they have acquired to continue to combat land ownership problems. And, in the process of getting the information they need, they have gained more strength for the battle.

9

RURAL TRAINING IN TRADITIONAL COMMUNITIES OF PERU

Ton de Wit and Vera Gianotten

The indigenous people of the high Andes

Traditional farmers are an important group of people in Third World countries and there have been a lot of anthropological studies concerning them. These studies, however, have rarely considered the situation of traditional farmers in the global structure of society. Often, these studies refer to the farmers' resistance to change and propose solutions that point to the need to change the farmers' psychology, orientate them towards new production methods and towards a "more modern" outlook. Although some changes have taken place in the last decade, few projects have worked together with peasants on the problems of rural development, considering the peasants as the most important decision-makers of the project.

In this paper, we want to describe our methodology for a programme of rural training for integrated rural development. Although the project has been developed in several areas and in different communities, we will only describe the effects of the project in two communities.

General characteristics of the working area

Peru is divided into three large, well defined natural regions, very different from each other. One region, the coastal zone, covers all of Peru's coast (10%); the mountain zone that contains high plains (Andes), called Sierra (30%); and the jungle zone extends from the Andes towards the east of the country (60%). The total population is estimated as around 16 million, five million of whom live in the capital city of Lima. Migration from rural areas to the capital is alarmingly high. At present 52% of the population live in communities of over 20 000 people, while the remaining 48% live in rural areas mainly in the Peruvian Sierra.

Ethnically, the population is made up of 45% indigenous people, 10 - 15% of Spanish or European origin, and 40% of mixed blood (*mestizos*). These different groups also live in different geographical zones. For instance, the coast is mainly inhabited by people of European origin and mestizos, whereas the Sierra and the jungle are inhabited by the indigenous population and mestizos. This geographic-demographic distribution has led to the rural areas being unduly dependent on the cities and a concentration of the economic and social benefits among the urban population.

The project of rural training within an integrated programme of rural development, takes place in the province of Ayacucho, particularly in the high Andes region. The population of the province is 440 000, 75% of whom are rural people. The capital is Ayacucho with about 70 000 inhabitants and the main occupations are commerce, state services and crafts. Industry is practically nonexistant. The National University of Huamanga is located in Ayacucho.

The communities the project works with are between 3 400 and 4 000 metres above sea level. The climate at this latitude limits agricultural activities, which leads to an insecure economic base, and therefore the main activity in the region is cattle raising. The indigenous population is in big part monolingual, Quechua speaking. The vast majority of the population is illiterate, which means that they cannot speak or read the main language of Peru, Spanish. Health situation, education, nutrition levels, etc, are particularly poor.

Agriculture and cattle breeding as well as craft work are mainly for consumption within the community, although the peasants do use barter for exchange, mainly between the different ecological levels. However, bartering between neighbouring communities is slowly being replaced by the development of a relationship between the community and the town market and thus trade is being increasingly centralized.

The communities within the Region have their own internal political organization despite the laws from the central government, such as the Peasant's Community Law, and original customs as communal labour and communal landownership still exist. Thus community tasks are usually done by commoners for free or are imposed by the Common Assembly. In most of the communities the pasture for the cattle is commonly managed and the only activity where there is individual profit is the cultivation of land.

The basic economic unit consists of the whole family (nuclear and extended). Adult men and women distribute the work according to the physical effort needed; women usually look after the cattle and agricultural jobs which require less physical effort than those done by the men. Children also have economic functions; from the age of five they are responsible for the small cattle, they search for dry manure for fuel and carry out other minor tasks. During the last years it has been noticeable that even in the most isolated areas, the men (in the productive age) leave, at least temporary, their communities to look for jobs on the coast or in the jungle, and in the region this movement is becoming more and more significant.

Economically active population

	QACHER POTRERO		CUCHU CANCHA	
Men	158	47%	540	41%
Women	179	53%	776	59%

As noted previously the communities are not particularly integrated into the regional and national markets and are little involved in national political life. Thus, there is little political consciousness except in so far that the people is aware of their poverty and the need of collective activity and solution in dealing with their problems. Historically there have been few reasons for political struggle, due largely to the absence of large landownership (*latifundios, haciendas*). However, for hundreds of years there have been conflicts between neighbouring communities, mainly concerning the borders of the land; in many cases these still exist and have had, and still have influence on the maintenance of a strong local political organization. The absence of large landed estates means that there are few landless peasants; whereas in other areas of Peru, where a landless peasantry does exist, this has led to a homogeneous proletarian and politically mobilized peasant force.

The relative isolation of the communities has not only protected and preserved their own culture, such as music, drama, dress, etc., but has also preserved forms of popular medicine and technology that still exist. In fact, an own ideology exists although in the last decade some changes have taken place that have affected the economy, politics, and culture of the communities.

An adult education programme for integrated rural development

Since August 1977, the National University of Huamanga has an adult education programme for integrated rural development. The education centre is situated in Allpachaka, a traditional rural community in an area some 3 600 metres above sea level, where the university has a special project in cattle raising and Andean crops cultivation. The Programme was planned by the University's Department of Social Extension and Research and is carried out by teachers and students of the faculties of Agriculture, Education and Social Sciences. They are trying to adapt the results of scientific research to crop cultivation and cattle raising in the area and to develop working methods that allow the peasants to participate in the Rural Development Programme based on the basic needs of the communities and the socio-economic situation of the area.

The aims of the programme are to:

(i) Stimulate, according to the community's socio-economic and technological possibilities, a development that can be maintained by the community itself.

(ii) Develop a working and research method in which the (whole) community can participate.

(iii) Analyse scientifically the reach of some of the technologies used in the communities.

(iv) Consolidate the popular culture and popular technology, where this is efficient in resolving the community's problems.

(v) Change technological methods that prevent improvement or are dangerous for the communitiy or individuals.

As we already said, in the working area there is no proletarian peasantry; every peasant is owner of a small plot of land, of a size below the subsistence level and the economic activities are structured around the nuclear family with a collective control over pastures and services. However, this does not mean that we may consider the community as a whole as a development unit. Within a lot of communities in the area exists a strong economical and social differentiation between peasants.

There exists a close relationship between training and research activities on one side and production activities on the other.

Training has to be directly related to the agricultural and cattle-raising production, as concerning the individual economic activities as well as to the communal, in order to encourage the population's participation in rural development.

Lines of action

We think that the traditional context and the specific historical experience have important implications on the working methods. Although a clear class structure and class consciousness do not exist in the community, what does exist is a strong peasant culture - music, dress, beliefs, technology - which have allowed relative coherence among the peasants in the area.

One of the central points of the working procedures is the determination of the development unit. Although it is clear that society as a whole is characterized by a class structure, this class structure is not necessarily reflected within the peasant community of the type described.

The programme contemplates various lines of action:

Rural training: The training which takes place in the University's Rural Centre is directed to peasants chosen by their own Community Assemblies. The project tries to develop a practical programme of agricultural and cattle raising activities based on the socio-economic and technical conditions of the rural community as well as involve the peasants in discussions about the social organization of the community and other topics of special interest.

Analysis of the community: As well as the education work, we also analyse the community's technological, ecological and socio-economic situation. This is carried out by teams consisting of agriculturists and anthropologists who analyse the human and natural resources, their exploitation, the socio-economic structure as well as the community's main problems. With regard to the technical aspect of these studies, the different communities in the area possess many similarities: absence of a minimum infrastructure, overuse of pasture, low agricultural and cattle-raising productivity, malnutrition, etc. However, socio-economically the structure is different from community to community and this raises the question, "Can the community as a whole be considered as the development unit or only a part of it?" Certainly when there is a clear differentiation within the community, only a part of it can be considered as the development unit.

Significant differences in this respect exist in the two communities we work with: In Qacher Potrero all the peasants own between 1.5 and 2 hectares of land and there is little difference in the number of cattle owned. We therefore consider the whole community of Qacher Potrero as the development unit. In Cuchu Cancha, however, there is a significant differentiation in the ownership of land and cattle and therefore are generated strong contradictions between rich and poor peasants. Thus, we have had to develop a strategy based on the poor peasants in the community which involves their participation in planning a development process and other specific community projects.

The formulation of plans for development: Depending on the analysis, we have planned development schemes and specific projects and it is mainly at this stage that we encourage the maximum participation of the peasants trained in the Allpachaka Centre.

Implementation: The final part of the programme involves the implementation of these projects according to their priority in the development planning. The community participates in the projects in old communal ways, such as *faena* (a type of communal work).

Research methodology

Often social research in rural or urban areas, considers the population only as an object of investigation and does not consider them as participants, nor consider the utility or application of the research. The supposed 'neutrality' of science to guarantee objectivity of research encourages this way of thinking.

However, those schools that postulate the need of social or political compromise of research, do not authomatically consider the population as essencial subject in research.

The methodological postulates behind our project are:

(i) Any group or community has the potential to take charge of its own development and define its own problems and needs.

(ii) Any research that concerns itself with the development of a group of people has to encourage the active participation of the people in the research process.

(iii) Any research has to build the people's confidence in themselves in order that they will be encouraged in an independent development process. Research also has to bear in mind the often logical mistrust that has developed amongst the rural population against the officials and professionals due to the different experiences they have had over many years.

(iv) The participation of the people in the research involves a substantial change in the working methods and techniques and places doubts against the usefulness of supposedly objective questionnaires.

(v) The research supposes not only participation and action but creative participation and action. The research modifies and changes the area in which it takes place.

On the basis of these postulates we shall clarify more specifically the methodological and didactical procedures used in the project.

Methodology of the Education activities

The rural training is undertaken using the indigenous language, Quechua, and this is perfectly useful. The curriculum is outlined at the beginning and is developed through the interchange of experiences between the professionals and the peasants. The traditional technological practices of peasants are not very well known and have often been thought of as inadequate and of little use.[≠] We consider that the peasants' technological, cultural and social information has to form the basis of the educational work. To do this we develop practical jobs in which the peasants grow what they used to in their own way. We then analyse this and consider what improvement could be made without resorting to modern technology which would not be suitable for the traditional peasant due to economic, technical, or climatic limitations.

Field work

Many experiences have demonstrated that the use of questionnaires, besides being alienating, does not necessarily reflect the reality of the people or the community investigated. Therefore, we feel the need for a direct participation of the researcher in the community's life. This means that the research teams live in the communities and participate in all the activities: agricultural, cattle-raising, cultural and social activities etc. We consider this participation to be essential but not sufficient. Our main aim is to ensure that the research is relevant and useful for the community and we do this by including the participation of the peasants in all the different phases of the research. At the outset we try to structure the analysis of the peasants themselves, their socio-economic situation and their problems, and outline their perspectives of change. Then, according to the analysis made by researcher of the technological, socio-economic and political situation, we discuss the researcher's findings and try to reach an agreement about the possibilities of development and specific projects in which the community can find valid way of change. All of this is discussed with the peasants who participate in the Rural

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[≠] There is evidence that before the Spanish came to Peru a population equal to the present one fed itself using traditional methods, some of which are still used.

Training Course as well as with the community as a whole through the communal assemblies. For the implementation of the projects we rely on the (whole) community's participation.

Evaluation

The project is constantly evaluated by the peasants during six monthly meetings, where the peasants and the community leaders discuss the achievements. A synopsis of the peasants' comments and ideas forms the basis for a discussion between the research teams and the peasants.

Results

The results of this type of projects are, by its own nature, not very spectacular over a short period of time, nor are the results always measured by criteria of 'development' (such as growth in the numbers of hectares of sown land, new dairy farms, etc). Although we can show some concrete improvements, these cannot be isolated as programme results. We have finished some diagnostic studies. Several discussions at varying levels about possible developments have been started with the community. We would not wish to pretend that a simple 'yes' of the Communal Assembly to a proposal means the participation of the whole community, since the process of community participation is far more complex and requires a great deal of time.

What can we say about the results then? For instance, in one project the community saw the lack of water as a major problem. The peasants did not think that the problem could be solved as there were not any exploitable springs near. Some technical studies demonstrated that it was possible to make a canal from a water spring to the village and this work has now started with the help of the community. In this case, the completion of the canal will mean that ten times as many fields can be irrigated. At present they can only irrigate 17 hectares whereas after the canal is finished 217 hectares can be irrigated - some 308 of the community's arable land.

The discussion about the use of this new resource is one of the main points of participatory research and planning. Several important possible activities have been revised by the research and at present discussions are taking place concerning the different alternatives. One of the possibilities that has been agreed is to start a common dairy farm so that the people can consume the milk themselves (sources of protein are very deficient and the main cause of malnutrition) and will also create work in cheese-making (source of work, product for local consumption and sale) instead of keeping cattle which would only be for sale due to the high price of breeding. Because of the national market-economy, the distribution of agricultural products, cattle and manufactured food is very unequal and is unfair to the peasants. We work from the assumption that it is better to ensure first a sufficient and adequate alimentation for the community than benefit the middlemen.

The other community involved in the research has realized that it is possible to develop an industry based on local chickens which are resistant at high altitudes and are easy to feed, rather than using chickens which have been specially bred but have a very demanding diet, thus pushing up costs and limiting local consumption.

The programme not only involves productive activities: we also work with the people in cultural activities (music, theatre, etc.) so that their own cultural expressions are seen as valuable. Although their own music is positively valued by the peasants within the community they are shy in expressing their cultural values to the outside world.

Some training courses have had more positive results with the women than with the men. This seems to be so because in many communities women are a more stable population than men. Although, in some cases, the migration is still relatively irrelevant, in other cases we have found so much male migration that the majority of the remaining active population is women. Because of this migration, women are more and more in charge and responsible for all the productive activities within conditions already described; lacking economic resources, inadequate modern technology etc. This means that women, for necessity and because of being a more homogeneous group in the community, realize easily their situation and needs and see the possibilities of change. Women are thus more interested in training courses and learn more quickly. Men, on the other hand, look for alternatives in large towns where they have to find individual solutions. The migration of a great number of men means that the cultural and political disintegration is more acute among them.

10

THE ROLE OF CULTURE IN DEVELOPMENT: JIPEMOYO PROJECT, TANZANIA

Kemal Mustafa

Bagamoyo District and its background

The Jipemoyo Project was carried out between 1975 - 1979 in the Western Bagamoyo District of the Coast Region of Tanzania. The Project was jointly sponsored by the Academy of Finland and the Ministry of National Culture and Youth in Tanzania. Bagamoyo District has had a long history of contact with the outside world. During the mercantilist period it was the centre of the caravan trade when slaves and ivory were brought there from the mainland to be transported to Zanzibar and on to the overseas markets in the Middle East, Europe, and America. With the advent of colonialism a small plantation sector flourished in conjunction with the Roman Ca[illegible]lic Mission which ran a cotton ginnery. Following the demise of the caravan trade, however, Bagamoyo District reverted to a relatively quiet backwater in the hinterland of Dar es Salaam, cut off by poor communication from the main socio-economic developments going on in the rest of the country. There was some political activity in the anti-colonial struggle mainly coordinated through the various Islamic sects, which have continued in the post-independence period to exert a greater influence on the residents of Bagamoyo District than has Christianity.

The inhabitants of Bagamoyo District are predominantly cultivating peasants having affiliations with the Zigua-, Kwere-, Zaramo- and Doe-speaking communities. Their staple food crop is maize supplemented by millet, cassava, rice, and a variety of beans and pulses. Cash crops grown include cotton, cashewnuts, coconuts, sesame and some tobacco. In addition to the cultivating peasants, a small community of Maa-speaking Ilparakuyo pastoralist peasants subsist mainly on their livestock of cattle, goats and sheep, although their diets have been increasingly supplemented by agricultural produce such as maize. These two groups of peasants have been living in an uneasy relationship of conflicting claims over the means of production such as land for grazing and cultivating, water, and social services. There are also a number of craftsmen and women who engage in blacksmithery, carpentry, pottery and leather-work to meet the local need of the cultivating and pastoralist peasants.

The origin of the study

The study was started on the initiative of the Finnish Director, Dr. Marja-Liisa Swantz, in conjunction with the former Director of Research and Planning in the Ministry of National Culture and Youth, Dr. Israel Katoke. Dr. Swantz had previously carried out some experimental research projects in Coast Region using a participatory approach and the Jipemoyo Project was intended to be a fuller application of her earlier research findings.

The research problem was originally set out to study the role of culture in the restructuring process of rural Tanzania. The purpose of the research was to unleash the development potential of the villagers of Western Bagamoyo District for socialist construction in line with Tanzania's policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance. The objectives of the study were formulated as follows:

- To analyse the role of culture in the process of change
  a) as a factor deterring change;
  b) as a motivational and creative element in the process of change.

- To participate in the process of development and socialist construction and to experiment with methods and approaches in development research which incorporate people from all levels in the process of research and creates in them awareness.

- To collect, document and study such cultural material which disappears in the midst of change as well as organizing a system of collection and archiving of cultural data such as oral traditions and music.

- To assist in the training of Tanzanian and Finnish scholars to carry out participatory research.

- To create models of field training for cultural officers, Party and Government leaders, and students working in village situations.

Dimensions of research

The researchers began with some general theories of participant research for development based on the earlier work of Dr. Swantz. Since the aim was to see how a study of culture could be combined with development, the researchers accordingly chose different ethnic groups to study in relation to the particular problems they had selected. After a time the researchers realized that for their studies to have more relevance for development, they would have to turn their research primarily to villages and to observe the interaction of ethnic traditions and customs in different villages. At the same time it was felt that a more fruitful approach would be to start with the analysis of the practical problems which the villagers themselves identified, and in the course of working on these problems, together with the villagers, to study the ways in which the different ethnic traditions and customs affected particular development projects. This approach gave a greater sense of purpose and direction to the researchers and met with approval from the villagers themselves, who began to see the potential benefits of such cooperation (in relation to the water problem in Miono village, for example).

In Miono, P. Donner began his ethnomusicological studies by getting school children to do research on traditional methods of collecting and preserving water. He found that the water problem was so acute that the villagers were only prepared to discuss other things after they felt that some progress was being made towards solving their water problem. Although nothing much could be done in the short term, plans were made and the District and Regional authorities were called upon to try and provide more continuous supplies of water.

After building up a research rapport with the villagers in this way, Donner was able to proceed with his ethnomusicological studies. The outcome of this was that over a period of two years he was taught how to dance the *Selo ngoma* as well as how to make the Selo drums. His close association with his teacher Juma Nassoro led them to design an improved Selo drum, which began to be manufactured in a small scale drum-making industry set up in Miono village. As well as producing drums, Donner and Nassoro are also writing a series of manuals designed for use in promoting the teaching of the Selo ngoma in Tanzania schools.

The Project research was concentrated on the following topics:

- Pastoral Development
- Traditional Handicrafts and the Promotion of Small Scale Industries.
- Promotion of Traditional Music and Dance.
- Creation of Traditions' Archive and Documentation Unit.

In additions to this research was carried out and planned on witchcraft eradication, the role of women in food production, ethnic identification and national consciousness, and a geographical analysis of the process of villagization.

The Project researchers used a participatory research approach with conflicting methodologies. Some researchers tried to use a historical materialist methodology while other researchers used a methodology derived from bourgeois social science and tailored to their various disciplines. In its first phase the Project concentrated on holding seminars to discuss the villagers' problems with the Regional, District, Division and Ward leaders and once the main issues had become clearer, the Project researchers then continued to deepen their research and to look for ways in which the skills and resources of the villagers could be harnessed for socialist construction.

However, it should not be thought that the use of a participatory research approach was limited to research on peasants only. In fact, the Project used a participatory research approach to involve Party and Government leaders as well as villagers and the researchers themselves in the research process. This can perhaps best be shown by describing briefly some of the seminars conducted by the Project where a participatory research approach was employed with different types of people.

The Msata seminar took place in June 1976 and served as the official opening of the Project. The seminar brought together leaders and functional officers from the Ministry, Region, District, Divisions and Wards to meet and discuss development problem with the villagers. They were able to learn from craftsmen and women pastoralists, local historians, musicians and dancers, who had a lot to say about their existing skills and their potential for development. The topics covered included traditional systems of education and how these could be integrated with modern education, the formation of handicraft cooperatives as the basis for small scale village industries, and the richness and diversity of the history of the villagers as manifested in their songs and dances.

The purpose of the seminar was to demonstrate that there are many skilled people living in the villages who, if given suitable encouragement by the Government, can provide the basis for socialist construction. It was suggested that by using a participatory research approach involving villagers, leaders, and researchers in the identification of problems and in the common planning of how to surmount these by relying on local skills and resources as far as possible, a major step would be taken towards implementing the policy of self-reliant socialist development.

In pursuance of these ideas, B.K.S. Kiyenze worked at the establishment of cooperative small scale industries on the basis of traditional handicrafts. His work on the Project was interrupted when he went to the University of Dar es Salaam to study for his M.A. Degree, but since his thesis was related to his work on the Project this did not cause too many problems.

Kiyenze concentrated on making a historical materialist analysis of handicraft production in Bagamoyo District and on advising individual craftsmen and women to come together to work on a cooperative basis. He also made efforts to involve other relevant institutions in the promotion of small scale industries, but by the end of the Project even those cooperative small scale industries which had been set up were suffering from problems related to the supply of raw materials and inadequate marketing organization.

Kiyenze's work highlighted the problems associated with the development of small scale industries where the lack of investment capital and the low labour productivity, when combined with the shortage of raw materials and inadequate marketing organization, creates severe limitations to their development potential. Kiyenze singled out management and leadership as being major constraints in the development of these small scale industries, although it is clear that more thought needs to be given to the future consequences of the policy that is encouraging petty commodity production to meet the needs that are not as yet being met by state capitalist production in conjunction with international finance capital. Kiyenze hopes to follow up these issues by studying the Finnish experience in the development of cooperatives and then relating this experience to Tanzanian conditions. He is currently in Finland on a scholarship following up this study.

Differing theoretical frameworks

Following the Msata seminar, a workshop was held in July 1976 at the University of Dar es Salaam in order to discuss the theoretical framework to be used on the Project. The workshop lasted for two days and involved researchers, lecturers, and students from the Ministry and the University. The papers presented at the workshop have been collected together and published in conjunction with the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies in Uppsala, Sweden. The major point of contention at the workshop was between those who argued for a uniform theoretical framework for the Project based on a historical materialist methodology and those who argued for the freedom of each researcher to develop his or her own theoretical framework. This conflict was never resolved throughout the Project with the result that each researcher decided on the kind of theoretical framework to be employed in his or her own particular study.

A further point of issue, which also divided the Project researchers, related to the conflicting hypotheses put forward to express the underlying values and assumptions of the research. On the one hand, it was argued that the basic problem was one of a lack of communication between leaders and villagers. On the other hand, it was suggested that the basic contradiction was one of conflicting class interests. Those who argued for the latter hypothesis also advocated a uniform historical materialist methodology for the Project, while those who put forward the former hypothesis were most vociferous in defending their right to develop their own independent methodology.

The political implications of the divergent hypotheses were manifested in practice when the communication theorists took a hard line against the bureaucrats criticizing them for not being willing to learn from the peasants. The class analysts, however, taking into account the material conditions of the bureaucrats, were not surprised to find the bureaucrats accumulating on the basis of the surplus produced by the peasants and workers in line with their petty bourgeois class interests. Whereas the communication theorists found this morally reprehensible and a violation of the Party ideology, the class analysts argued that the conflicting approach to the bureaucrats was manifested in the suspicious way that some of the Party and Government leaders viewed the Project.

In November 1976 the Project organized an Archiving seminar which lasted for three days. This was an international seminar with participants coming from Finland as well as from the Eastern African countries. The purpose of the seminar was to try and review the problems related to archiving and documentation in Tanzania and to propose measures to improve the existing situation. The seminar provided the background for U. Vuorela's work in relation to the establishment of a Traditions' Archive and Documentation Unit for the Department of Research and Planning of the Ministry of National Culture and Youth. The purpose of the Traditions' Archive and Documentation Unit is to enable researchers to get information in a convenient form as quickly as possible. This involves handling and classifying information recorded in field notes, tape recordings, photographs, and articles and ensuring that these research findings are fed back to the villagers and leaders as soon as possible so that they can then be put to use in the solution of the development problems identified.

After the Archiving seminar, the Project organized another two week seminar in Bagamoyo District for Tanzanian cultural officers. One week was spent in Miono village where training in field research techniques as well as in the use of tape recorders and cameras was given to the cultural officers, who were then sent to live in surrounding villages for another week to put what they had learnt into practice. The idea of this on-the-job training was to provide the cultural officers with the experience of working in village conditions.

In January 1977 the Project was invited to a one day meeting in the Coast Region office to discuss the problems about implementing universal primary education among the pastoralist peasants. The Project prepared a report on the subject which was discussed by leaders from the Region as well as from the pastoralist villages. At the end of the meeting it was decided to organize a seminar in the villages so as to discuss the development problems of the pastoralists at greater length.

This seminar was held in February 1977 at Lugoba village and lasted for two days. The pastoralists contributed materially to meeting the costs of the seminar, and welcomed this opportunity to discuss their problems with the Regional, District, Division, and Ward leaders. During the seminar the pastoralists were the main speakers and they explained how they saw their development problems and proposed solutions which they felt would be practicable. The resolutions of the seminar have since been used by the Project as the basis for a proposed development plan for Mindu Tulieni village, which is designed to provide the infrastructural services necessary before the pastoralists will be able to lead a life more compatible with villagization. This plan has been taken up by the District and has been sent forward to the Region, which is currently working on ways to obtain funding from Finland for the proposed project.

The research on the pastoralist peasants has been conducted by K. Mustafa, M. Matwi and J. Reuben. They were fortunate in that the Ilparakuyo community in Mindu Tulieni, where the bulk of their work was done, was very close-knit and frank about its problems. In 1976, when work started on the question of implementing universal primary education among the pastoralists, there were only 14 Ilparakuyo boys attending the Mindu Tulieni

Primary School and there were no girls at all. By the end of the Project in February 1979, there were 32 Ilparakuyo boys and 13 girls attending the Primary School. In addition, efforts have also been made to design a school livestock project which will be more relevant to the pastoralist children. One of the Ilparakuyo primary school leavers has been sent for further studies at a Teacher Training College.

In February 1978 the Project was also invited to help conduct the National Livestock Census for Lugoba Ward. This proved opportune since the pastoralists had themselves been asking for an accurate count of their cattle. Previously it has been alleged that the Ilparakuyo would not allow their cattle to be counted, but this allegation proved to be unfounded since the Ilparakuyo themselves actively helped the researchers to do the counting. In fact it would have been an impossible task without their full cooperation since data was needed on the breakdown of the herds into different categories of animals and only the pastoralists were in a position to tell the researchers which cattle had been weaned, which were still heifers, and the number of cows in milk. Apart from actively helping in the count, each homestead was very interested to know how many cattle it had since it was appreciated that the area of land to be set aside for the pastoralist village would have to be related to the number of cattle.

Once the data had been gathered, the researchers were quickly able to put it to use in their analysis of the material conditions of the pastoralists. For instance, the researchers were able to establish that in 1978 there had been an effective destocking of 18.71% in Lugoba Ward through the marketing of cattle alone in only 9 months of the year for which records were available. This was well above the Party directive for a 10% annual destocking and when taken together with the fact that there was an over 40% decrease in the number of cattle in Lugoba Ward between 1973 and 1978, supports the pastoralists' argument that there is no need for further destocking. It has always been argued by Regional and District leaders that before the pastoralists can develop they must first destock, an argument which is naturally not appreciated by the pastoralists.

The researchers have also been able to utilize the data collected to demonstrate that between 1 200 and 2 000 head of cattle are being sold annually and incomes from the sale of cattle at the Lugoba Livestock Market have risen from T.Shs 750 000/- in 1976 to T.Shs. 1 750 000/- in 1978. It is on the basis of these earnings that the pastoralists have decided to deduct T.Shs 100/- from each head of cattle sold at the Lugoba Market as a contribution to their community development fund. They are still waiting for this to be ratified by the District, but it will be their main way of contributing to their self-reliant development even if foreign aid is not forthcoming.

Outcomes and dissemination

The results of the Jipemoyo experience are currently being written up in the form of a Final Report. However, most of the findings have already been put to constructive use in the on-going development process. Perhaps the most gratifying result of the Jipemoyo experience, as far as participatory research is concerned, is the fact that participatory research has been accepted by the Department of Research and Planning of the Ministry of National Culture and Youth as a prerequisite for their current and future research projects. As such, the idea of participatory research is quickly being disseminated to other parts of Tanzania where it is being put into practice in different environmental conditions.

The knowledge generated by the Jipemoyo experience has demonstrated that research aimed at solving the problems identified by the communities leads to concrete action when the communities concerned are actively involved in the research process in a participatory way.

11

A TRADE UNION AND THE CASE OF AUTOMATION

Morten Levin

Introduction

This paper describes part of a recently finished large scale project initiated by the Norwegian Chemical Workers' Union, and funded by a $ 200 000, - grant from the Royal Norwegian Council for Scientific and Industrial Research. A team of researchers from the Institute for Industrial Social Research (IFIM) in Trondheim and the Norwegian Computing Centre in Oslo collaborated with representatives from the union's central office and some local clubs in a participatory research and development process.

The Norwegian Chemical Workers' Union has some 30 000 members, and is one of the larger Norwegian trade unions. Most of the Norwegian trade unions are organized in the Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions (LO). Wage bargaining is both centralized to the Confederation of Employers and LO and also includes bargaining at each local enterprise.

The aim of the project was to explore the conditions necessary (knowledge, competence, time and space, etc.) for the union to protect and advance its interests when new technology and other forms of automation are implemented. Field work took place at three different electrometallurgical plants (two aluminium smelting factories and one nickel smelting plant). The two aluminium smelting plants are located in small towns (population 10 000) on the west coast of Norway in rural areas. The nickel factory is located in a somewhat larger town (population 40 000) on Norway's southern coast.

The Context of the Study

The participatory research project presented in this paper, took place in one of the aluminium smelting plants. The small local community actually came into being in the early 1950's when the plant was built, and thus heavily dependent upon this enterprise. The factory is part of a conglomerate (ÅSV), having three other smelting plants and factories for finished aluminium products. ÅSV is the biggest Norwegian aluminium smelting company. There is cooperation between the unions at the different factories, especially the smelting plants.

The people most active in the field study are all members of the local union. Two of them are elected shop stewards, while the third had been engaged in union matters from the start of the plant. Norwegian local unions elect their own board, which has the responsibility for day to day negotiations with the management. In this aluminium smelting plant two of the members of the union board continued on full time pay from the company while released full time to perform their duties. One of these two was heavily engaged in the research project. (He has the responsibility for safety and QWL1).) Another shop steward also active in the project, was the elected "data processing shop steward".2) None of the people involved in the project had

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1) QWL = Quality of Work Life (job design criteria etc.).

2) This is a special Norwegian phenomenon, and it reflects both the unions' substantial interest in new technology, and legal agreements between employers and employees.

any formal education beyond high school. They were all trained through the Union's own educational programs. The depth of this training varied among the members of the group, but they had all attended some union training courses.

The ideology of the local union reflects social-democratic values typical for Norway. There is cooperation between the local labour party and the local union. The union has a dual attitude towards management, involving both cooperation and conflict. There is a basic conflict between buyers and sellers of labour (e.g. payment and control), but there are also large areas of labour management-cooperation where the union has a regulating function. This situation could best be described as conflict based cooperation.

The Origin of the Study

The project was initiated by officers in the secretariat of Chemical Workers' Union in Oslo. For a long time there had been a substantial interest from the union side in the development of data processing and related technological changes that increased the degree of automation in the Norwegian chemical process industry. The union felt pressed by at least two factors:

- They had no strategy worked out from their own premises of how to handle the problems that new technology created for the union and its special interests.
- They always got information on the introduction of new technology when it was fully developed and little could possibly be changed.

In the new Norwegian Law on Worker Protection and Work Environment there is a paragraph dealing with the introduction of data-processing equipment (§ 12.3):

> Control and Planning Systems.
>
> The employees and their elected union representatives shall be kept informed about the systems employed for planning and effecting the work, and about planned changes in such systems.

> They shall be given the training necessary to enable them to learn these systems, and they shall take part in planning them.

According to this provision, the union has a legal right to participate in the design of new technology. This legal base combined with the national labour-management ADP contractual agreement gives Norwegian unions important legal rights to participate in the development of new technology - rights that are available to workers in few other countries in the industrialized world. But these formal rights in and on themselves do not automatically create the desired participation in practice. In fact, they create some problems.

For example, a central problem in participation is the problem of taken labour representation. It is impossible to think of participation without attending resources necessary for participants to be able to act effectively in pursuit of their interests. Management has highly trained specialist, while unions have very little data processing expertise on their side. Guess who will lose in this battle! Therefore it is obviously necessary for the union, based on their own interests, to develop their own strategy towards the problems raised by the introduction of data-processing equipment.

The project described here, is one attempt to cope with this challenge. It both aims at building up a long term strategy for the national union and at developing methods and a knowledge base to be used locally to evaluate the local QWL consequences of proposed new technologies *before* they are implemented. In short, the project aimed at developing new knowledge to advance trade union interests on both local and national levels.

In the project's first phase, researchers and several national officers from the union's secretariat visited some thirteen different enterprises to identify possible field project sites and explore main ideas for further research. All the local unions were invited to participate in the project. Initially, very few local unions saw any problems at all connected to the introduction of new technology. Most became more aware of potential problems after the visit, but only three were willing to start local projects.

The original strategy was to work extensively together with a few unions, and later diffuse the results and a way of organizing local work to other local unions. The diffusion process will be discussed later, but already during the early phases of the project more local unions started-up their own work. This second group of unions has had much less contact with the researcher team, and at present seems to have made nevertheless a good start so that some diffusion is already underway.

The Local Union's Research

Our initial contact with the local union at the aluminium smelting plant was in December 1977. The project was presented, and the question was raised whether the union would participate or not. There was positive response. In fact, the smelting process had been controlled for 10 years by a computer, without any *reaction* from the local union. After a formal decision to join the project had been made, the first meeting between the local union work group and researchers took place in January 1978. The local union had early 1978 elected a shop steward for data processing, and soon after a data-processing study committee was appointed. Originally, the ADP-committee consisted of five persons, but two of them left the group for different reasons. The three remaining members carried out the actual research that will be described here.

The research strategy was designed by the researchers. The main strategy question was how to give the local union a resource base so that they by themselves could decide on what demands they should put forward concerning their own working situation. This indicated that knowledge on how technology effects the working conditions are fundamental for own action towards new technology. The best possible basis for such knowledge on how technology affects working conditions are a study based on own experience of how technology in their own plant has effected their working conditions.

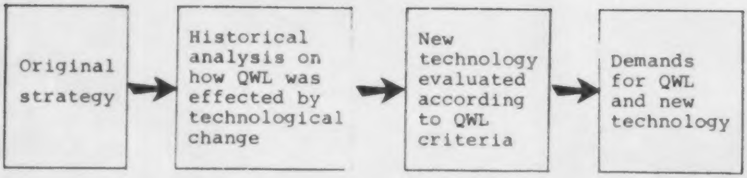
Original strategy
Historical analysis on how QWL was effected by technological change
New technology evaluated according to QWL criteria
Demands for QWL and new technology

Figure 1. Research strategy

This resulted in a design starting with an analysis of how changing technology in the company's 25 year history had effected the working conditions. The proposed strategy was accepted by the data-processing group. The next step was to develop the necessary applicable concepts. This phase of the project was important, since it set the pattern for the rest of the project. This phase was characterized by active involvement of two researchers from IFIM. The meeting was centered around a discussion of factors effecting QWL. Those concepts of QWL were only initial suggestions. The critical factor was the researchers refusal to provide any prefabricated analytical package. The workers by themselves had to define what they meant by a "good job" or "good working conditions". The researchers' input was only the basis for a discussion, not a final definition. In fact, the first meeting, which lasted almost two working days and functioned at times like a "brain-storming" session, resulted in a rather detailed list of criteria for evaluating QWL factors that workers themselves saw as particularly significant for their factory.

This list in itself was a significant achievement both from the point of view of the project (it gave direction and focus to the workers' subsequent analysis) and from the point of view of the researchers (it was a more specific comprehensive, differentiated and concretely grounded set of evaluative criteria than those the researchers started the discussion with!). From an initially rather general set of social and psychological QWL criteria, the work group evolved a rather precise list of concepts that had real meaning for them in their world.

In table 1, we present the main elements in the list introduced by the researchers.

Table 1. The initial job criteria list introduced by the researchers

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To be avoided:

Machine steered or conveyer-belt controlled work

Repetitive jobs

ADP systems not understandable and not possible to influence by the workers

Bad wage systems

To be gained:

Variation

Contact

Connection between sub-tasks

Understandable ADP systems and systems that might be influenced by the workers

Information about production demands and results

A better connection between work role and other life roles

Also concepts like:

On solidarity systems

Problem definition

Interaction

Identification

And variables defining the dimension of freedom caused by technological design and the demand for qualifications in the individual jobs.

At the same time that they took over the conceptual definition of the project during the meeting, the workers also began to exercise more initiative in relation to the researchers.

At the start of the meeting, the researchers set the agenda, made most of the input, asked leading questions. By the end of the meeting, after the workers had produced a first rough list of criteria, it was clear that this list had to be reworked and consolidated and the workers took it upon themselves to do this.

In table 2, the workers' final list of QWL evaluation criteria will be shown.

Table 2. The workers' job criteria

Adequate training; content and necessary time for job training.

Learning and development; possibilities for learning and personal development given in the individual jobs.

Knowledge, competence and experience necessary for performing the different jobs.

Judgement and use of skill as qualifications for job performance.

Demands for age and speed; demands for speed in job performance and what limitations does this give to the worker's age.

Specialization of jobs; fragmentation of jobs into small units.

Work area; (geographical)

Isolation; constraints for cross contact between workers.

Possibilities for leaving the work place.

Repetition of operations in the different jobs.

Absence; does absence create problems.

Working time.

Possibilities for the workers to interfere with the data processing systems.

Control from the management upon the individual worker.

Control over the performance of the work by the foremen.

The wage system; type of payment.

These criteria were organized in chart form where they formed one axis and specific jobs formed the other. This analytical framework gave workers a way of systematically assessing how technological development had affected the working conditions. The workers had participated in designing the analytical framework - it was their own - and they used it to analyze objective changes in concrete jobs over the whole life of the factory. The factory's twenty-five year history was divided into three periods; the first with authoritarian foreman control and little mechanization, the second characterized by introduction of heavy duty mechanical equipment and the third high-lighted by the introduction of data-processing to control the smelting (computer based automation).

During the next one and a half years, there was regular contact between primarily one of the researchers and the work group. The researcher's role in this stage mostly consisted of teaching the group to plan their work by dividing it up into manageable pieces that could be completed before the next meeting. In addition, the researcher, in discussion with members of the group, was able to solve problems of substantial and practical nature, without the risk that simple problems became impregnable. Perhaps the most dominant role facilitating was: One helped the work forward simply by asking questions, much like any good teacher. The group completed a rough draft of their analysis and report.

The next important stage in the work group research appeared in the Autumn of 1978. Then the group decided to present the preliminary research work on a conference between union representatives from the three other smelting plants within the conglomerate ÅSV. It was felt that even in this unfinished form, the draft report could help to start a diffusion process to other unions in the same situation.

Out of this meeting came three important results:

1) Organization of the workgroup's research in a preliminary report. 2) A positive and active support from leading shop stewards in their own company (i.e. from the chairman).

3) The establishment of a network between data processing shop stewards in the two other factories of the companies.

This is just one example of some of the diffusion activities in which workgroup members engaged. In addition, they have given lectures and led workshops for their union colleagues in other branches of the chemical industry. They have not simply had training in research, but also in the diffusion process.

In the middle of 1979, the research work was concluded. During the whole period, the workgroup had great difficulties in obtaining enough time and space for working together. They all worked on different shifts, so that it was extremely difficult to arrange a meeting without someone having to leave his paid work. This resulted in part in a great deal of work occurring during the workers' free time. At last, the group found it necessary to ask for a full working week together to complete the final research report. This week was paid for by the project. This week was undoubtedly important for the research, and fortunately, sufficient funding was available. It meant that for the first time members of the workgroup could work together for more than a few hours and really concentrate on the task.

This week became the third important event in the participatory research. The members of the group supplemented each other. The shop steward for data processing was highly motivated, and invested a tremendous number of hours in the research. Often he took the work home with him. The other shop steward had substantial experience in union work, and the third member was also a union man with long experience. He had worked in the plant from the beginning and had personal experience during all three periods. They are all living references for what actually happened under different periods.

The data for the research was mainly objective. This means one relied on job descriptions issued by the management over the years. The group collected descriptions for all jobs in all the three periods. In addition to this, they had access to all protocols from discussions within the union and between the union and the management. Finally, relevant production and other available operating statistics from official management reports were collected.

In addition to this type of data, a group of "veterans" who had worked in the factory since it started in the early 50's were invited to give their opinion on what had happened to their workplace.

The results of the research are presented in the following table. The table shows how the individual jobs hav changed in the three periods of technological development in the enterprise:

Period I - 1952-1956: Little mechanization. Authoritarian foremen control.

Period II - 1956-1967: Introduction of heavy mechanical equipment. More democratic work organization.

Period III - 1967- Introduction of data processing systems. Some shiftwork tasks transferred to daytime work.

From the table it can be seen that there has been positive change from period I to II, while there has been a reduction from period II to III. It is also worth noticing that the criteria having changed in period III is the variables dealing with knowledge, competence, experience and skills.

The data analysis resulted in two main conclusions:

1. Evidence supporting the hypothesis that technological development results in fragmentation of jobs.
2. Evidence supporting the hypothesis that technological development reduces the need for skill.

It should be stressed that neither deskilling nor dehumanization were explicitly discussed with workers prior to the research. These were of course hypotheses in the heads of the researchers who were well acquainted with the literature around automation and its social consequences. The key issue, however, was the design and implementation of a research project which would provide an empirical basis for assessing the hypothesis. After finishing their research, the workers appear to have a new and quite different understanding of their situation.

Table 3. Change in job criteria

	Period		
	II	III	Daytime
Adequate training	-	-	o
Possibilities for learning and development	+	-	+
Knowledge, competence and experience	(+)	-	+
Skill	+	(-)	+
Age, demand for speed	o	(+)	o
Specialization of jobs	-	-	-
Work areas	-	-	-
Isolation	-	-	o
Possibilities to leave the working place	-	(-)	+
Physical work environment	+	+	+
Repetition	-	-	+
Absence	o	o	o
Working time	+	+	+
Passive leisure time	+	+	+
Interference with systems	-	(-)	(+)
Terminals, accessibility to workers	-	-	-
Control over individual performance	+	+	+
Possibilities of control	+	+	(+)

All judgements are compared to the situation in period I.

+ = positive change	+ = 8	6	11
o = no change	o = 2	1	4
- = negative change	- = 8	11	3

Outcomes

The outcomes of the project might be discussed along different lines. First, we have the direct research results. Those results were presented on the preceding pages. Other parts of the outcome are the diffusion process. That will be dealt with in the next section under dissemination. A third outcome is the direct use of the research and the results.

The project is an action research project aimed at helping the Norwegian Chemical Workers' Union to develop the knowledge and other capacity needs and to pursue its interests concerning technological change. The organization of relevant knowledge seems fairly successful. But what about the capacity to use it? Obviously, results should not be expected to be evident in short term. If the project is successful, then the results can only be measured in the long run. The real results are that people through active involvement in union participation can influence the design of new technology. Nevertheless, we can see some short term results. This is mainly manifest as an increased awareness of the problems the introduction of technology raises. The union seems to be more resistant to proposals of new equipment, and are more interested in the consequences of the technology for working conditions.

The local union has also sketched some ideas of applying this kind of research to all departments within the enterprise. This is part of a plan to obtain sufficient knowledge so that the union by itself can perform its own long-range planning.

Another example of an action result is the union's skepticism in accepting the company's investment in Japanese technology. The local union was asked to accept the introduction of new Japanese built technology. The union stated that they could not accept or refuse new technology when they did not have enough information to judge the QWL consequences, and besides that, investment in complete foreign technology was obviously against the law on working conditions. Later the union received a letter from the conglomerate's president assuring them that the law would be followed.

A fourth line of outcomes is the reflections and the questions left to the researcher after the research is finished. The learning in the project was not purely for the union work group. Through direct contact with the union workgroup the researcher(s) learned a lot about psychological and social consequences of technology. This knowledge is based on quite other data than what can be expected from a survey or observations. One interesting question is: What are the differences between these kinds of data?

The research has shown the great complexity of an action researcher's role. As part of the social system where one is doing research, one cannot any longer believe in the neutrality of research. The subjective role as a researcher is complicated. One must be aware of the possibilities and the constraints of the methods used, and one must sort out how one's own role interferes with the "data". And, of course - one is emotionally involved and that is part of the relevant data. There is no possibility to withdraw to an ivory tower. Problems and conflicts must be solved at face value when they emerge. To withdraw, reflect upon problems and then come back is only possible in the exceptional cases. This does not mean that there exists no plans for research action. The problem is that these plans very seldom are followed. The dynamism of the union research group gave rise to this problem.

Action research is a dynamic process. You are never sure what will happen next. Plans can be made, but you as a researcher are never fully in charge of carrying them out. Action research means uncertainty about what will happen next.

Another important question is the methodological contraints of this kind of participatory research. Scientists usually have many years of formal training in research methods. In participatory research, training goes together with the real research procedure. This, of course, gives limits to what is methodologically obtainable.

And one last reflection: Is there any real difference between research called action research and participative research? In the literature there are different definitions of these two forms of research strategy. From my own point of view, I find it rather impossible to differentiate one from the other. Both strategies are built on a contextbound scientific concept, people's action comes out of the research and action should more or less be based on attained knowledge.

Dissemination

The original plan for the project was to work extensively in few companies. Then the results were to be spread to other local unions. This has taken place to a very little extent so far. Only one other local union took the initiative by itself to engage in the project. People from that union attended several courses organized under the project, and at last they organized their own weekend course on the problems of automation. After that course they suddenly were able to start up their own work.

Another initiative for diffusion has been taken towards unions in some small companies in the middle region of Norway. They were invited to join a workshop centered around the same problems as the project. In a period of three sessions, the two first ones are already finished, we hope that the unions will have learned enough and gained sufficient support and inspiration in order to continue by themselves working on problems with the introduction of new technology.

At the moment this attempt seem rather promising, but the real results will only be evident in the long run. As we earlier pointed out, a network has been established between the shop stewards for data processing inside the ASV conglomerate. They have been working together for more than a year. These kinds of networks seem rather promising. People in the same situation seem able to help each other in quite a dynamic way. The total is more than the sum of the parts.

Dissemination is also a problem locally. Until now local project work has mainly rested on the efforts of a small local élite that has been highly active in participatory research. It is important in the future that ideas about knowledge-based action are diffused to all union members. Ideally, everyone should be engaged in this kind of knowledge - building about factors affecting their working conditions. It is only through an understanding of the factors that determine their working conditions that union members can democratically participate in improving the quality of their work life.

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